National Anti-Slavery Standard.

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National Anti-Slavery Standard.

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COOLIE LABOR—THE MORALITY AND ECONOMY OF IT.

THE following views, taken from the Boston *Daily Advertiser*, concerning the iniquitous traffic, must commend themselves to every right-thinking reader :

"The systematic importation of Coolies into the Southern States has been undertaken, it appears, on a scale of considerable magnitude, and with the prospect of a still further increase. A few days ago a cargo of eighty men were landed at New Orleans, and upwards of two thousand have been bound out to planters within a recent period. The movement is popular, and unless promptly checked or regulated by law, will soon overrun the Gulf States with hordes of these Asiatic barbarians. It is important, therefore, that the probable effects of this scheme on our national safety and industrial system should be thoroughly and carefully examined.

"'Coolies,' as our readers doubtless know, is the name given both to Hindoos and to Chinese, although in race, character and religion they are radically dissimilar. But from an economic point of view the name is sufficiently distinctive ; because both are essentially serfs, content to labor faithfully for the scantiest pittance ; both are thorough aliens to us in creed, language, habits and aspirations ; both are introduced for the same purpose, and both will have the same influence on our national life.

"Coolies have been imported for many years into Cuba and the other West India islands as bond-servants held for a series of years ; whereas in the Pacific States they came as voluntary emigrants, and are as free as European laborers. In Cuba the Coolie trade is the slave-trade without the curly hair ; for really it is hard to discover any other difference. Nominally hired for seven years by the highest bidders, they are often worked to death ; or, as a more general rule, they are cheated out of their pay, and at the end of their term, find themselves hopelessly in debt to their employers, and thereby forced to enter into another contract. It is slavery without a single redeeming feature of that system ; because while the Coolie has absolutely no hope whatever of rising above the condition of a serf, he is not guarded by any of the selfish instincts which formed a partial protection to the slave. A more heartless and degrading relation between man and man it is impossible to devise. It is capital throttling labor with every interest to choke it ; it is labor writhing under capital without the power to move a single muscle in self-defense.

"What are its advantages ? Only one is or can be named : *cheap labor.* The Coolie is satisfied with a diet that neither Saxon, Celt nor negro would accept ; and he is happy if he can receive a pittance of twenty-five cents a day. But is this cheap labor in reality, or only in name ? There is a school of political economists who would not hesitate to answer that the lowest-priced labor is the cheapest, because it tends to the most rapid accumulation of matprial wealth. But, happily for the people, it is daily becoming more and more widely accepted as a truth that the distribution of wealth is as important, at least to a healthy civilization, as the mere accumulation of riches ; and that the social interests of society are quite as vital considerations as the financial prosperity of a community regarded as a unit, and not as a union of individuals, the welfare of *each* of whom it is the true problem of political science to secure. The doctrine which smiles where 'wealth accumulates but men decay' is not adapted to the United States. Now, it is precisely this result which the introduction of Coolies is intended to establish. Slavery destroyed, a substitute is sought ; not a better system, but something to take its place. Dreams are indulged in that by replacing the negro by the Coolie, the old South may be re-established in all its former power, and the great plantations again groan beneath the tread of a race of servile workers, the whole fruits of whose toil shall go to enrich their masters. Surely we have a right to expect a nobler future for the South than this, and to hope that the blood poured out in her behalf shall be the seed of a grander social system than she ever before knew.

"But the moral effects of a vast influx of Coolies would be as pernicious as its social results. These laborers are *men* only ; their theories of life are vicious and brutal ; they are idolators, thieves and assassins. The country of Wirz and Winder has no lack, already, of this dangerous element ; and to reinforce it would be a crime against the nation. What the South wants is a class of men superior in morals and in social habits to its own people ; who shall teach both the negroes and the whites, by the example of a clean and active life, a higher code of ethics than it now acknowledges. But the Coolies would only make what is bad enough already still worse, and thereby prepare further trouble for the future of the United States.

"We do not believe that it is desirable or expedient to reject any class of emigrants who may seek the shelter of our Republic. Let them come from whatever quarter of the globe they may, we should give a cordial welcome to every class of laborers. But it should be with the understanding that they seek us to become a part of us—anxious to be adopted as our citizens, and to adapt themselves to our ideas and institutions—not as migratory colonies of foreigners, without sympathy with us or interest in us. And, above all, they should come of their own accord as freemen, and not be brought over by the cargo to be bound out as serfs. Congress at its next session will be forced to consider this important subject ; and we trust that it will devise means to protect the nation from a forced inundation of barbarians, and these people, if they come to our shores of their own free will, from the dangers and wrongs of a new system of slavery."

COLORED MEN AS OFFICE-HOLDERS.

THE following letter is addressed to the Rev. H. H. Garnet, pastor of Shiloh Presbyterian Church, New York, by Major Delany, a colored soldier :

"MY DEAR SIR : In such times as these it requires men of the greatest practical experience, acquired ability, mature intelligence, and discretional wisdom, to speak and act for the race now an integral part and essential element in the body politic of the nation. Therefore I do most sincerely hope that you and the other leading minds among our people may take your stand, speak out, and define your true sentiments in relation to the great points now agitating the public mind, especially the black man's claims to office.

"The great principle always advocated by our leading men has been to claim for us, as a race, all the rights and privileges belonging to an American citizen of the most favored race. But I do not think that those who have so long, so steadily and determinedly stood up as you and others of us have done, even to a national concession of these claims, ever contemplated taking any position among our fellow-citizens, till *we* at least should be *ready* and *qualified*. It follows, as a matter of course, that *more* than we should be ready, before it is *possible* to attain to such positions. I am sure that upon this point there will be but one sentiment among the old-line leading men of our race, cotemporaneous with us, when the subject is placed before them.

"I have been induced to pen this letter to you by seeing in the telegraph proceedings of the Columbia, S. C., Convention a claim put forth by Mr. J. J. Wright, in behalf of our race, for the Vice-Presidency of the United States. I hope no such nonsense as this will for a moment be entertained. Our enemies would desire no heavier nor stronger club with which to break the heads of our friends and knock out our brains than this. We are not children, but men, comprehending the entire situation, and should at once discountenance anything that would seemingly make us cat's paws, and ridiculous in the eyes and estimation of the political intelligence of the world. Let colored men be satisfied to take these things like other men, in their natural course and time. Prepare themselves in every particular for local municipal positions, and they may expect to attain to some others in time.

"Mr. Wright is a young man of some 27 or 28 years of age, and consequently without any political experience, except such as acquired since the war commenced, and therefore may be excused for so palpable a political blunder. I am a personal friend of his, therefore take the liberty of speaking frankly about him. I am, sir, for our race and country at large, your friend,

"M. R DELANY.

"Hilton Head, S. C., July 27, 1867."

A COLORED SOLDIER'S SPEECH.

AT a grand pic-nic given by the Soldiers' Reunion Society (colored), at Versailles, Kentucky, on the 20th inst., Mr. G. B. Thomas, the agent of the Soldiers' Reunion Society of Lexington, was introduced to the audience and delivered an interesting speech, as follows :

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, FRIENDS AND FELLOW-CITIZENS : I am happy to be allowed the privilege of arising before you for the first time at Versailles. I did not come here, my friends, with the expectation of speaking, and I hope you will excuse all blunders. My friends, I am no speaker, and did not come here expecting to say a word, but as I am called on first I will not refuse.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN OF VERSAILLES : You have gone to a great expense for your pic-nic, and have invited us down here, and we have accepted your invitation, and we are happy to meet you as a band of brothers and friends.

But I am sorry to hear that it has been reported that this society was organized to do anybody harm, for I can say that the Soldiers' Society was organized for the purpose of burying our dead with the honors of war, etc. It is true we have been soldiers in the United States army, and that we fought for our liberty. And when we were slaves in the corn and hemp fields, we served our masters like men, and when the call came for the colored man to go out and fight for his liberty, we went, and served the government like men. (Cheers.) My friends, show me a white or colored man that wants to live in bondage. (Laughter.) Let us lay aside all prejudices and forget the past, and if there has been any malice in our hearts, created by the past, let such evil thoughts be exterminated and buried never to revive again. (Cries of "That's right," "Go on.")

My friends, let nothing separate us, but stand together like brothers and sisters, and as Christians. Because you belong to the Benevolent Society and to the Soldiers' Society, should that divide us ? No, never. My friends, I belong to the Methodist Church, but should I fall out with a man because he is a Baptist ? Never. For the sake of Him who will judge the hearts of all men, live together in peace, and show respect to all men, without regard to race or color. ("You are right.") My friends, there is one thing we will have to do before we can ever be a people ; first, educate ourselves ; second, be industrious ; third, study and learn the history of the world, that we may never be led astray ; fourth, live honestly, have faith, and put our trust in God, and all will be well with us. So, sir, we must not take evil counsels. ("No, never.")

Now to my soldier brothers. You must remember the stars and stripes, and stick to our Union friends, and show the world that we are not monkeys, and that we are not baboons and ourang-outangs, but that we are men, and take hold of the wheel of justice, and all rule together, and never do anything that will drag us down to sorrow and shame. (Cries of "never !") Soldiers, come together and join this society, and resolve that when our brothers are not able to bury themselves, we will not let them be carried to the burying-ground on drays. Stand together, concentrate your minds, throw away hypocrisy, live peaceably in your family, and let us try to outlive the disgrace that our ancestors have been compelled to wear for two hundred years ; for slavery has taught them ignorance, and of course if we educate ourselves that will exterminate idleness and ignorance. By so doing, we can be the happiest people that ever existed on the American soil.

HAYTI.

THE NEW CONSTITUTION—POLITICAL RIGHTS—FREEDOM OF THE PRESS AND WORSHIP—EDUCATION SUFFRAGE—THE LEGISLATIVE CHAMBERS—THE PRESIDENT—THE ARMY.

THE new Haytien Constitution framed by the National Constituent Assembly, which convened at Port-au-Prince immediately after the abdication of Geffrard, has just been published in the Haytien newspapers. It presents several interesting features, and is, in many respects, a great improvement on the old Constitution. The following summary embodies the most notable of its provisions :

The territory of Hayti and the islands dependent thereon, are declared inviolable, and may not be alienated by any treaty or convention.

Naturalized Haytiens are not admitted to the exercise of political rights until after a residence of five years in the country.

Citizenship is forfeited by naturalization in a foreign country ; by the abandonment of the country at a period of imminent danger ; by accepting, without authority of the Haytien government, public employment or pay from a foreign government, by rendering service to the enemies of the Republic, or having any dealings with them.

The exercise of political rights is suspended by a state of bankruptcy, simple or fraudulent, and by persistent refusal to serve in the National Guard, or on a jury.

The penalty of death for political offences is abolished.

No tribunal can be established, unless by authority of law. No extraordinary commissions or tribunals, under whatever denomination, can be created, especially under the name of court-martial.

The freedom of the press is guaranteed.

Worship is free, and all religious sects receive equal protection from the State. The ministers of the Roman Catholic religion, professed by the majority of the Haytiens, get salaries from the State, which are fixed by law.

A system of free education is provided for. There are to be primary schools for both sexes, open to all citizens ; primary agricultural schools for the instruction of the peasantry, and in the principal towns there are to be superior or secondary schools for instruction in the elements of the sciences, in the higher branches of literature, and in the fine arts.

Hospitals and penitentiaries are to be established in the principal towns.

The right of the people to assemble for the discussion of political subjects is recognized ; but they must do so without arms, and they must not assemble in public places without permission of the police authorities.

Every male citizen who has attained the age of 21, has the right of voting, provided he is a landed proprietor, or has been engaged for not less than five years in the cultivation of a farm, or that he exercises a profession, or is employed in the public service, or is engaged in some industrial calling.

The exercise of the national sovereignty, which rests with the whole people, is delegated to three powers—the legislative, the executive, and the judicial ; and the legislative power is exercised by two Chambers, a House of Representatives, and a Senate, which form the legislative body. The government is essentially democratic and representative ; each power is independent of the other two.

The number of representatives is fixed according to population. The representatives are elected for three years, and they must be 25 years old, and owners of real estate in Hayti. Naturalized citizens are not eligible for a seat in the House of Representatives until after a residence of ten years in the country. Representatives are paid $200 a month during the sessions.

The Senate is composed of 30 members. They are elected for six years, by the House of Representatives, from a list of candidates chosen by the electoral colleges. They are paid $125 a month. The Senate is a permanent body, but it may adjourn, provided that when it does so it leaves a permanent Committee composed of five Senators, which has power to convoke the Senate, or the legislative body.

At the opening of each annual session the two Chambers form themselves into a National Assembly, of which the President of the Senate is President, and the Speaker of the House of Representatives Vice-President. This National Assembly elects the President of the Republic, declares war upon the report of the Executive, and determines on all matters relating to war ; approves or rejects treaties of peace, alliance, neutrality, commerce, and other international conventions assented to by the Executive power ; authorizes the raising of loans on the credit of the Republic ; exercises the right of commuting sentences passed on political offenders, authorizes the establishment of a national bank, and changes the place fixed for the capital of the Republic.

All laws passed by the two Chambers are immediately sent to the Executive, who has the right to make objections. In case he objects, he sends back the law with his objections, to the Chamber in which it originally passed. If his objections are overruled, the law is returned to him to be promulgated. It requires a two-thirds vote at least to sustain the objections, and to amend the law accordingly.

The President is elected for four years. He must have attained the age of 36 years before election, and must be the son of a Haytien father. He must be the owner of real estate in Hayti, and have his residence there. No one can be reelected President until after an interval of four years.

The impeachment and trial of the President for abuse of authority and powers, malversation, treason, or any other crime committed in the exercise of his functions, is provided for in this wise : The impeachment is made by the Chamber of Representatives, and the President is arraigned before the Senate. It requires a majority of at least two-thirds in both Chambers respectively to find him guilty. The Senate pronounces the sentence—which is forfeiture of office, and deprivation of the right of exercising any other public function for one year at least, and for not more than five years. The President may be impeached either for offences committed in the exercise of his functions as President or for extra-official offences. Pending the trial the Council of Secretaries of State is charged with the executive authority.

The Justices of the Peace and the Judges are appointed by the President, with power of removal from office. Plurality of salaried offices are expressly forbidden.

The army is reduced to a peace footing, and its contingent is voted annually. No one can be promoted to any military grade in the army who has not been a soldier. There is no privileged corps, but the President of Hayti has a particular guard, which is subject to the same military rule as the other corps. There is the National Guard, in which all Haytiens are liable to serve from the age of 18 to 60.

All foreigners found in the territory of the Republic shall enjoy full protection of person and property.

A WAR OF THE RACES.

CONCERNING a war of the races the Albany *Evening Journal* has the following sensible remarks :

Gov. Orr, of South Carolina, is said to be full of gloomy forebodings, and to anticipate a war of races. It may be well now to consider the causes which might produce the realization of the Governor's fears, and, if possible, find some method of avoiding such a catastrophe. Resistance to the right and struggling against the inevitable, will necessarily provoke conflict. The close of the late war was gladly welcomed by the people. Their desire for peace was only exceeded by their determination that the Union should be made secure on the foundations of freedom. All irregularities were submitted to, provided they thought concord and liberty would follow. The usurpations of Johnson, in displacing the rebel governmental machinery by officers of his own creation, were not at first objected to, in the hope that they would result in cementing the Union and securing equal rights. But Johnsonian reconstruction ended in the enactment of oppressive laws. Under the plea of preventing vagrancy, regulating industry and punishing crime, it was attempted to reduce the freedmen to a state of slavery worse even than that from which they had been disenthralled. Here was the beginning of a new conflict. It originated in a desire on the part of the late masters to reduce to subjection their recent servants. The movement which followed was a wrong against the freedmen. To submit to the accomplishment of that wrong when there was a remedy, would have been worse than the crime itself. The responsibility for the conflict, therefore, rests with the originators of it.

Congress, in the exercise of its rightful powers, interfered to prevent the success of the outrage. It could have done no less, under its bounden duty, to secure justice to all within its jurisdiction, and especially to those who have suffered in the nation's behalf. The most certain method of thwarting the oppressor, was to deprive the most prominent of the nation's enemies of political power, and invest the persecuted race with the sure weapon of defence. This the nation was loth to do. The force of the argument, based on the ignorance of the mass of the freedmen, was felt, and the strength of prejudice was appreciated. But ignorance, even in a negro, is not a crime. There are none so low but that, if they need the ballot for their protection, they have the right to demand it. Had the South been faithful to its wards, and enacted laws looking to their elevation and providing for their rights, political investiture would have been left entirely to their own decision. But they chose the opposite course, and they must assume the responsibility for any humiliation they may feel from its results.

The cause originated with the South. The effect is unavoidable. They assailed a race, all the more entitled to justice because of its lowly state. That race has been invested with power to defend itself. And that power cannot be taken from them.

The conflict, thus far, has been moral and political. Gov. Orr seems to anticipate physical collision. That is easy enough of avoidance. The freedman has the right to equality before the law, and the only method left open to secure it has been irrevocably adopted. And it is not such a fearful thing to award justice. A war of races can be easily prevented. Let the proud lift their hand from the lowly, and the thing is done. If the arrogant race, lately so dominant, will cease to persecute the race recently liberated from their oppressions, there will be no war between them. If they will but accept the situation, by simply awarding justice and conceding adequate security, collision will be prevented. If they will not, but are determined on further oppressions and disturbance, the consequences will be theirs.

MISSISSIPPI.

CONDITION OF THE FREEDMEN'S SCHOOLS.

WASHINGTON, Aug. 8th, 1867.

THE Commissioner of the Freedmen's Bureau has received a report from John M. Laughton, Esq., General Inspector of Schools under the supervision of the Bureau, giving the condition and circumstances connected with the education of freedmen in the State of Mississippi. The report notices a very thorough earnestness on the part of the white people of Mississippi to see the freedmen properly educated, and schools are being organized and established in almost every part of the State. In some places the whites have given to the freedmen land on which to build school-houses, while in many places, as at Canton, Corinth, Jackson, and Artesia, they have aided the freedmen by contributions of money for purchasing sites on which to build school-houses. The inspector says in his report that he talked with no leading influential white man in Mississippi, whatever may have been his views with regard to the late rebellion and the abolition of slavery, who did not express the opinion, apparently with full earnestness, that the abolition of slavery is a fixed fact, and that the freedmen ought to be educated. Some of them expressed the opinion that the freedmen are to be in the future, as in the past, the laborers of the South, and if they would procure the development of its highest industrial resources their education must be thoroughly cared for.

THE DANGERS OF NEGRO RULE.

From the N. Y. Herald.

THE scornful manner in which the negro President of the South Carolina Radical Convention accepted the resignation of a white delegate, who could not subscribe to the platform adopted, was a most significant evidence of the course about to be adopted by the negro majority in the South. The intentions of the Radicals in Congress, or rather their anticipations that the colored voters would be ruled by a mere handful of adventurers, promise to be rudely thwarted even while the experiment of negro suffrage is still in its incipiency. There are none so blind as those who will not see, and it is utter folly for any one to pretend that Mr. Sambo Jefferson, of Rutland district, will quietly submit to having all the offices held by a few white men, when he and his dusky compeers are the voting majority. The desire for political elevation, beyond the mere privilege of casting a vote, is made palpable by the fact of there being several colored candidates already in the field, while one aspirant for a seat in Congress is even now stumping the State of South Carolina.

Has not this experiment of negro enfranchisement ; and white disfranchisement gone quite far enough, and is there not material danger to the United States, in permitting ten States to be ruled by an ignorant race, aided by a few unprincipled white men ? This question must not be regarded in the light of a present political necessity. We must look to the future, and reflect whether good can come from our present policy. In the State of Louisiana there are in round numbers one hundred thousand white men above the age of twenty years. Of this number not forty-three thousand have been permitted to register. On the other hand the male negroes of the same age, who number barely ninety-six thousand, have registered fully eighty thousand votes. These figures are appalling, although they can be easily explained. No white man was permitted to register who held the petty office of parish constable, city policeman, notary public (a purely business office), or village alderman. And while this rigorous system was pursued towards the whites, untutored negroes, and even colored minors, it has been asserted, were permitted to register without question. The result, then, of the Reconstruction law in one of the richest States of the Union will be the inauguration of a State government filled with negro officials, and counterpart presentments of Parson Brownlow and the Radical Hunnicutt. Nay, more ; we learn that negro members of the New Orleans city government have been demanded by the Republican leaders and already appointed by Gen. Sheridan. We thus perceive the natural result of a policy of repression on the part of the government.

What has been said of Louisiana must be applied to all of the other Southern States, excepting, perhaps, Mississippi and Arkansas, where the law has been liberally construed by Gen. Ord. The sum total, however, will be the same. Now, the question is, whether the whites of the ex-rebel States will consent to be ruled by negroes, and whether the people of the North will compel such consent. In the first instance it would be well to reflect that no case can be cited where a superior race ever submitted to the rule of an inferior one. But placing aside this point, which is, after all, but a question of opinion, so far as it relates to superiority and inferiority, let us take the question in another sense. The relative position of the whites and negroes in the South is and will be that of taxpayer and voter. This is the whole point in a nutshell. Will the ruling negro be provident of the money that he has not to supply, or will he, confident in his numerical superiority, vote just such taxes as his fancy or caprice shall dictate ? This is a point that cannot be overlooked. We very much fear that a most unhappy state of affairs will be the logical consequence of negro domination. Will the whites—the landowners, taxpayers and sole dependents of the States for their material prosperity—quietly submit to the rule of an ignorant and poverty-stricken majority, headed by men whose desire for office is prompted solely by their impecuniosity ? If regarded purely as a political move, we still perceive danger in this placing of white men under the heels of negroes. Look at the policy through any light, and evils ever appear. The aggressive spirit of the blacks, and the implacable hostility of the Southern whites towards them as political equals, are most potent arguments against persistence in a course which must inevitably lead to a collision between the two races of a most dangerous character.

We do not believe that the people of the North are ready or willing to subscribe to negro rule. The day when they will welcome Fred Douglass as Vice-President of the United States, and John M. Langston as a Senator from Virginia has not yet come, nor is it likely to come for a long number of years. The negro must, therefore, be made to understand that although he will never again be reduced to slavery, he must rest content with his personal freedom, and not aspire to that political and social equality which cannot fail in the end to bring him more blows than honors. We repeat that the people of the North are not ready for negro rule ; and if the old Copperhead leaders could be induced to retire from the arena and leave the field clear for fresh ideas, a new organization, headed by Grant, and having for its platform the supremacy of the white man in the affairs of this government, would, at the Presidential election next year, sweep the Radical party from existence, and restore the country to peace and prosperity. The dangers are many ; but until the Democracy cast aside their present leaders we can hope for no change from the grievous errors which have been made by Radicalism.

GEORGIA.

RIOTOUS ASSAULT ON A FREEDMEN'S MEETING-HOUSE.

A CORRESPONDENT in Macon, Ga., gives an account of an attack upon a congregation of colored people in the vicinity of that city, while holding a prayer meeting, on Sunday evening, the 28th ult. The assailants were armed with shot-guns, which they fired indiscriminately into the assembly, wounding thirteen men and five women and children. Capt. N. S. Hill, Sub-Commissioner of the Freedmen's Bureau at Macon, was appealed to, and immediately made a requisition on Col. Crafton, the Post Commander, for a sufficient force of troops to arrest the perpetrators of the outrage. The requisition was complied with, and three of the ringleaders in the assault secured, but turned over to the civil authorities, without reporting to the Bureau Commissioner. On Monday they were arraigned before two Justices of the Peace, but Capt. Hill, learning from the physician of the Freedmen's Hospital that one of the wounded (a woman) was about to die from the effect of her injuries, ordered a postponement of the examination. Our correspondent says : "Although this is a crime that would shock the feelings of your Northern men, it is treated with laughter in this lawless community."—*Chronicle.*

FREEDMEN WITH WHITES IN CONVENTION—ORDERLY CONDUCT.—A Republican Convention was held at Richmond, Va., on the 1st inst. Three thousand blacks were present, and about fifty whites who were delegates from the April Convention. Rev. Mr. Hunnicutt, the editor of the *New Nation* made an address, counselling harmony in deliberations of the body, and denouncing the actions of those who had come to break up the Republican party.

The crowd then adjourned to Capitol Square, where its members were largely increased by both whites and blacks, making one of the largest assemblies ever witnessed in Richmond. A recess of two hours was proposed and carried to give time for the formation of a committee of one from each of the delegations. During this recess short speeches were made by several speakers, among them John Minor Botts and Rev. Mr. Hunnicutt. The meeting adjourned till the next morning.—*Correspondence of the Advertiser.*

THE Jackson *Democrat*, Mississippi, publishes in the biggest type its limited printing office can supply, this alarming decree : "The Negroes must be Deported or EXTERMINATED ! All the devil-begotten imps of darkness, whether black or brown, whether NEGROES or Indians, whether Mongols or mulattoes, *should at once be dismissed, and that forever, FROM THE CARE, FROM THE SIGHT, AND EVEN FROM THE THOUGHTS OF THE HEAVEN-BORN WHITES.*" Without the aid of the negroes the editor of the *Democrat* would probably be begging his bread, and we are quite sure that if he executes his dire and dreadful threat, he will find that he has deported and exterminated his dinner.—*Washington Chronicle.*

KENTUCKY.

THE SLAVE LASH RESTORED—OUTRAGEOUS TREATMENT OF A COLORED GIRL.

A CINCINNATI paper publishes the following :

In the vicinity of Lebanon, Ky., a few days since, a colored girl was sent on an errand to the house of one Wythrow, whose wife was at the time repairing an old dress. After the girl had returned home, Mrs. Wythrow discovered—or rather thought she did—that one breadth of the dress-skirt was missing, and the conclusion was at once arrived at that Mrs. Dorsey's servant-girl had taken it. The husband, Norman Wythrow, immediately went over to Dorsey's and accused the girl of the theft. She denied the charge and protested her innocence in the strongest terms. The house was then searched from roof to cellar, but the missing article was not found. Wythrow not being satisfied, however, the mother of the accused girl offered to pay for the property supposed to be stolen, the value of which was about 30 cents. Wythrow refused her offer, at the same time declaring that he "would take it out of her d—d hide." No one being present who was able to resist him, he took a plow line, and tied it to the girl's wrists, took hold of one end of it himself, got on his horse and rode off at a brisk trot, compelling the girl to follow on foot. In this way he pulled and dragged her two miles out into the woods, where he was joined by his brother, and the two men fastened one end of the rope around the girl's neck—after having stripped her naked—then threw the other end over the limb of a tree, drew her up so that her feet barely rested on a log, which they had placed there, and in that position whipped her until they had worn out 16 green withes. They took the girl away from her home early in the morning, and she did not get back until late in the evening. Persons who saw her say that she was bruised and scarred from head to foot. The Wythrows were next day arrested by United States officers, and brought before the District Court. This act, though one of the most barbarous that rebel diabolism has invented, is not isolated in Kentucky. Within the last two weeks no less than 16 arrests have been made in that State, by officers of the Freedmen's Bureau, of white persons charged with whipping and beating negroes.

THE PRESS.

WE take the following remarkable article from *Wilkes's Spirit of the Times :*

THE NEXT PRESIDENCY.

There is one solution to all our political problems—the Presidency. That answers everything. It explains the anomaly of a Congress almost unanimously convinced that Andrew Johnson deserves impeachment, yet refusing to impeach him. It explains Henry Wilson's tour through the South, and Mr. Seward's purchase of the Russian icebergs. It explains the unrelenting hatred of Edwin M. Stanton by the Democrats, and their obstinate resolution to drive him from the Cabinet. The denial of Benjamin F. Butler's superb ability and his services to the country, and the savage abuse heaped upon him, result from the knowledge of his popularity as a Presidential candidate. That the Copperhead papers, formerly Grant's worst enemies, are now his most obsequious flatterers ; that a brigade of Jenkenses follow him by night and day, and publish his most insignificant movements ; that all the financial misfortunes and successes of the country are equally attributable to Chase ; that the President at once profoundly desires, and as profoundly fears, to remove Sheridan—these are mysteries of which the next Presidency is the true and sufficient solution. It is very well to talk of Presidential nominations as premature, but they are, nevertheless, made. * * * The choice of the next President is narrowed down to a few leading Republicans, of whom Grant, Butler, Stanton and Chase have thus far been the more prominent.

The nominations which have just been made have unusual significance. The first is that of Grant, by the Union Conservative Committee of this city, a body of politicians who seceded from the Republican party last Fall, and have since borne to the Democracy the exact relation which the pilot-fish bears to the shark. The choice of Grant by this obscure committee is intrinsically of little importance, except as it is a recognition of his popularity by the office-seekers, who are notoriously good barometers. Hunger sharpens all the senses. But the indorsement of the nomination of Grant by the Democratic papers has meaning ; they have ravenously taken the hint. The *Eastern Argus* of Bangor, Maine, declares that the Conservative Republicans evidently look "to the election of a man eminently prudent, of great firmness, devoted patriotism, and broad, liberal, statesmanlike views, as the only means of rescuing the government from the hands of the revolutionists now in power, and restoring the Union under the Constitution. There are a great many of the same opinion, and who believe that Gen. Grant is the man for the emergency. We are of this number." Grant's inveterate silence, rarely broken, has unquestionably inspired the Democrats with the hope that he is not without sympathy with their policy—a hope which Mr. Johnson has encouraged by claiming Grant as a partisan of his administration : they are the more anxious to obtain Grant as their candidate, because they are well aware that no Democrat has the ghost of a chance. Pendleton is vaguely mentioned, in an insincere way, but Sunset Cox confidently informs his friends that to nominate him would be to retire from the contest. The chances of Seymour would be little better than those of Jack Rogers, of New Jersey ; and as for George B. McClellan, nobody mentions his name. Nobody knows where he is ; he has absolutely disappeared, and his friends think of advertising in the *Herald :* "If G. B. M., who was last seen on board of a Cunard steamer, waving an eternal farewell to an ungrateful country, will return to his afflicted friends, all will be forgotten and forgiven, and no questions asked." In this utter dearth of candidates, the Democracy have addressed themselves to the capture of Grant—like the devil-fish of Victor Hugo, which lies in wait to strangle and devour.

From the N. Y. Herald.

A NEGRO POLITICAL BALANCE OF POWER—THE COUNTER REVOLUTION APPROACHING.

FROM the developments of the registrations of voters in the five Southern military districts, we see that under the rebel restriction and negro suffrage conditions of Congress, the blacks, in each and all of the ten Southern States concerned, hold the issues of reconstruction in their hands. From the results of the late Tennessee election and other revelations on the subject, it is manifest that these Southern blacks, from Virginia to Texas, led and managed by Northern Radicals, are already, *en masse*, banded together under the flag of the Republican party. From all these facts, and from the general drift of the reconstruction movements of the day, it is morally certain that the negroes, with the restoration of these ten Southern States to Congress, will hold the political balance of power therein, which, before the late rebellion, was held and exercised by their white masters in the control of the general government.

In view of this startling transfer of our national balance of power we are called upon to pause and consider the probable consequences. After a terrible civil war of four years, involving the bloody sacrifice of over half a million of able-bodied men, and putting upon the country the heavy burden of three thousand millions of debt, we were released from the political domination of three hundred thousand Southern slaveholders. Heavy as were the costs of this liberation from a tyrannical and insolent oligarchy, the end achieved was still regarded with proud exultation, as amply rewarding us for all our contributions in men and money. But if the power wielded in their day by those three hundred thousand domineering white slaveholders is to be transferred to their four millions of ignorant, debased and credulous negro slaves, we may well inquire what have we gained or where are to be our compensations for all these stupendous efforts and sacrifices required to put down the slaveholders' rebellion ? Are we drifting from the "excess of liberty, equality and fraternity," to a French reign of terror, or to the bloody reprisals of St. Domingo, or to that fusion and confusion of races which culminated in Mexican anarchy ?

We have been making history at a rapid rate since 1850. In that year it was thought that we had compassed an enduring adjustment on slavery and the negro question in the great compromise measures of Henry Clay. But, unfortunately, inflated with false notions of power from the Presidential election of 1852, poor Pierce, Marcy, Buchanan and other narrow-sighted and flexible Democratic leaders of the North, bowed to the yoke prepared them by Jeff Davis, Mason, Slidell and other Democratic pro-slavery potentates of the South, in the repeal of the groundwork of Clay's adjustment, the Missouri compromise of 1820. Then came the border ruffian war in Kansas, the overture of the rebellion ; then the infamous Dred Scott decision, and next that tremendous Northern popular reaction which elected Abraham Lincoln ; and then the bold revolt of those three hundred thousand audacious and despotic Southern slaveholders, with all its bloody and decisive consequences. That insolent and insufferable oligarchy was demolished, the debasing institution of negro slavery, upon which its masters assumed first to rule, and, in the last resort, to ruin the country, was swept from existence, and, with the rebel Lee's surrender, the reign of the kingdom of Belshazzar passed away.

The people of the loyal States, through their servants in Congress, the Executive Department, the army and the navy, after many blunders and fearful disasters, finally, with Grant and his able subordinate generals, shattered the rebel confederacy into a mass of ruins, in that terrific campaign which opened the gates of Richmond to Abraham Lincoln. Thus the rebel States and their people fell completely subject to the discretion of the government which they had so fiercely rejected, denied, defied and resisted. With anything predominant in the shape of wisdom or patriotism in the White House after the death of Lincoln, or with anything in the Congress of the ensuing December rising above the base calculations of party, the restoration of those rebel States would have been simple and easy. But while Lincoln's successor from the outset proved a vain, conceited, ignorant, obstinate, self-willed and aspiring backwoods demagogue, he came into collision with equally conceited, self-willed and stupid demagogues in both Houses of Congress and in both parties. The ignorance, the noisy violence, the vulgarity, the presumption and the trickeries which for the last two years have thus marked the conflict between the President and Congress and between Republicans and Democrats have been disgraceful, expensive and demoralizing to all concerned, and continually tending from bad to worse. They have been on the scale of the petty plots and counterplots of the rings of spoilsmen and grog-shop political managers of our New York Corporation elections.

Where can we look for a rescue ? The remaining Northern rump of the old Democratic party, from its odious record of the war, has given a free rein to the Radicals, and they are marching on without resistance. President Johnson has become more an object of derision and contempt with both parties than was John Tyler in his worst estate. In this condition of things a Southern negro political balance of power, covering ten States, is looming up before us in bold relief. Is this to be the settlement ? It will be unless that controlling public sentiment of the North which carried President and Congress through the ordeal of the rebellion shall interpose in this work of reconstruction. We believe that public opinion can be so expressed in our coming Fall elections as to be felt in Congress, and we believe that a general popular movement, regardless of existing parties or party managers, in the name of Gen. Grant, will meet the case. Grant for the succession, and a new Congress under Grant to settle this work of reconstruction, is the programme upon which a counter revolution against Radical excesses in the South may be carried through to a decisive victory. It will be better to wait two years or ten years longer for Southern restoration than to push it through on the basis of a controlling Southern negro balance of power.

AN EXPERIMENT IN NEGRO REPUBLICAN GOVERNMENT—THE NEW CONSTITUTION OF HAYTI.

From the New York Times.

There are few recent political papers of greater interest than the newly-promulgated Constitution of the negro Republic of Hayti.

The document as given, in brief, in our yesterday's issue, is neither a copy nor a travesty of any other national charter which takes a written form. It does not compare, in any way, with the Imperial burlesque decreed by Soulouque. It contrasts rather than admits of comparison with the narrow, exclusive, sectarian system which prevailed, more or less, for nine years under Geffrard's administration. That administration, if not the actual system of government itself, our government went quite as far out of its way as was necessary to sustain in 1865. But for the moral support which Geffrard then received from us, his government would unquestionably have been overthrown eighteen months sooner than it was.

After the close of our own civil war—in the Summer of 1865—a deputation from the island was sent to this country expressly to represent what was then the rebel interests of the Haytien Republic, contending against the usurpations of the President. One member of that deputation was an American missionary of the highest character—a member of one of the oldest Virginia families, who had volunteered thirty-five years ago as an evangelist among the Haytiens, and as a pastor to the American and English residents in one settlement. During the whole of that period the gentleman we refer to had stood steadily at his post ; had mixed in none of the local party conflicts of Imperialists and Republicans, and had acquired no other interest than that of a philanthropic laborer in the field of enterprise upon which he had entered as a youth. His representations of the character of the Jeffrard administration have proved to be perfectly truthful. His predictions of the fate which awaited the President himself have been realized.

The political crime which most directly caused the discomfiture of Geffrard was his indifference to the success of the Dominicans against Spain in the brief struggle of 1864. His readiness to enter into a Concordat with Rome was an evil omen for the supporters of religious toleration and freedom. His system of finance, adopted without any due regard to national obligations, was strongly opposed by every one belonging to what may be called the Liberal party. His approval of the disabilities imposed upon foreigners by his predecessor, and his desire to establish as nearly as might be negro ascendancy, pure and simple, in opposition to the mixed population, and to naturalized foreigners—his whole policy of late years, indeed, was such as to alienate from him the sympathy of liberal-minded men of all classes and creeds. Those who fought so stoutly for Dominican independence three years ago naturally distrusted him ; and the effectual undermining of his government was, in fact, his own particular work. He failed to comprehend the responsibilities of his position. His conduct was guarded by no well-defined constitutional rule, and he was thrown aside for good.

It would be premature to augur for his successor a better and worthier career, or a more enviable repute. But the newly-proclaimed Constitution of Hayti certainly indicates an aspiration among a considerable class, and *that* the most intelligent in the Republic, for a stable government which, by its Constitution, at least, shall appeal to the respect and the confidence of Liberal States generally.

The guarantee of the freedom of worship, and the freedom of the press ; the provision for a system of free schools ; the recognition of the right of public discussion ; the assurance of protection to foreigners ; the abolition of the death penalty for political offences ; the declared supremacy of the ordinary civil tribunals, over extraordinary commission of whatever sort—are all the natural dictates of a liberal policy, and are more or less a guarantee for the establishment of a permanently free government.

The more Conservative features of the new Constitution serve rather to enhance than to detract from its strength and its real value as a fundamental national law. Where nine-

the new Kingdom of Italy, or in France, or England, or Scotland, where religious endowments are a part of the national system. Even the limit set to the exercise of the franchise under the new Haytien Constitution ought to receive the thoughtful consideration of those who are struggling—as we are doing here, and as they are doing in England—to find some golden mean between a restricted and an unqualified suffrage. Under the provisos in the new franchise law the citizen of Hayti, claiming the right to vote, must show that, besides being of legal age, he is either the owner of real estate, has been engaged in the cultivation of a farm, has a profession, is employed in the public service, or follows some industrial calling. Such limits to the exercise of the franchise here in New York would reduce the registered voters' list by ten odd thousand easily—all taken from that class of our population who cannot show that they follow any industrial calling whatever.

The Liberal-Conservative character of this Haytien instrument may be looked at in view of our own political position. We are about to introduce half a million of negro voters at a single sweep. We are about to introduce them, not as a distributed political force, but as a compact sectional power. The logic of their emancipation has forced the issue upon us, and it cannot be met by evasion or delay. The raw material will have to be used, and it is not improbable that we may gather experience of some value from these negro islanders. They have tried something approaching to universal suffrage, under conditions where they were entirely relieved from the restraints or the interference of a "superior" race. They have gone through a sufficient amount of domestic trouble for the last sixty years to have gathered some political knowledge; and their conclusions on the question of civil government must interest if they do not instruct us. They have shown at least that they are not the inferiors of the mixed Castilian Indian and Negro race in Mexico; and their constitutional project of free schools, freedom of worship, a qualified suffrage, and the recognition of the property rights of foreigners, if it indicates anything, indicates national progress, from the study of which communities of greater pretensions may usefully take lessons.

AN EASY MISUNDERSTANDING.

From Harper's Weekly.

It is always very easy to misunderstand. But even if it requires some effort to understand, it may be labor well spent. When Mr. Wendell Phillips says that "we *should* labor to elect men to office merely because they are black," it is certainly not difficult to say that a man who recommends other men for office merely because their skins are black is not a wise man. But is that necessarily the meaning of his words? Is it probably their meaning? Is it not plainly *not* their meaning?

Mr. Phillips may be a very troublesome gentleman; a fanatic; an incendiary; a Lollard, and an intransitive verb. But he has never been accused of wanting ordinary intelligence. He may be assumed to know that neither the color of a man's skin, nor his height, nor his weight, nor the shape of his nose, are any indication of his capacity properly to fill any political office. Therefore when he says so, it is inevitable that he means something else, and that something does not seem to us in the least difficult to perceive.

Mr. Phillips knows, as we all know, that a certain prejudice against colored men still lingers in many minds; he knows that it is effectively a caste feeling, and that actual equality and justice are not really assured to them so long as that indures. Until then they are citizens upon sufferance; citizens in a certain sense by pity. They are tolerated merely, and do not stand upon the same simple plane of unquestioned equality upon which the rest of the population stand. Now he deprecates the fact, and he will do, as a good and wise citizen, all he can do to remedy so unhandsome a condition; and he says that, in his judgment, there is but one infallible sign that the feeling of caste in regard to such men has perished, and that is their election to office. Consequently we *should* labor to that end, both as a sign and as a help. He does not say abstractly that color is a proof of official capacity; but he does say that in the present circumstances of this country there is a feeling of caste founded upon color, and that if we earnestly wish to destroy it we shall prove it by electing them to office. This may be a mistaken view—although we think it would be accepted in any other case—but it is certainly perfectly intelligible, and it is very far from absurd.

HAYTI.

From the New York Tribune.

In our accounts of the important revolution, which, at the beginning of the current year, took place in Hayti, we have already referred to some of the changes which the National Constituent Assembly has made in the Constitution of the Republic. Late Haytien papers publish the whole of the new Constitution, the most notable features of which we give this morning on another page. We cannot doubt that they will be read with general interest. Hayti, as among the most important of the African nationalities of the world, is in some respects a representative State. Its prosperity would forever silence the absurd assertions as to the unfitness of the colored race for self-government, and every sign of progress is, therefore, hailed with delight by those who believe in equal rights for all men. The new Haytien Constitution is one of which the most civilized nation of the world need not be ashamed. It has a thoroughly democratic basis, granting the right of suffrage to almost every industrious man. It greatly improves the old Constitution by abolishing the Presidency for life, and substituting for it a Presidential term of four years. The additional provision that on the expiration of his term the President is ineligible for four years, is one which a large portion of the progressive party of the United States are desirous to introduce into our Constitution. The importance of popular education is fully appreciated by the establishment in every community of primary schools. By granting religious liberty to all religious sects, Hayti has placed herself in the front rank of the Roman Catholic nations. By abolishing the death penalty for political offences, the Haytiens have recognized a principle for which in 1848 the whole Liberal party of Europe manfully fought.

There are many points in the Haytien, as there are in our own or in any other Constitution, on which opinions will differ; but there is nothing in it, so far as we can see from the abstract we publish, that is unworthy of a civilized and progressive nation. It only need to be faithfully adhered to to secure the prosperity of the commonwealth.

BUTLER BEFORE THE WAR.

Our readers recollect the confidence with which the leading rebels in Washington predicted before the war broke out, that the North would not fight. Arnold, in his "History of Lincoln and the Overthrow of Slavery," records the following conversation between some of them and B. F. Butler, who had united with them in the support of Breckinridge:

"Are you prepared for war?" said Butler.

"Oh! there will be no war; the North will not fight."

"The North will fight. The North will send the last man, and expend the last dollar to maintain the government," said Butler.

"But," said his Southern friends, "the North can't fight, we have too many allies there."

"You have friends," said Butler, "in the North, who will stand by you so long as you fight your battles in the Union; but the moment you fire on the flag, the Northern people will be a unit against you. And," added Butler, "you may be assured if war comes, *slavery ends*." Butler, sagacious and true, became satisfied that war was inevitable. With the boldness and directness which has ever marked his character, he went to Buchanan, and advised the arrest of the Commissioners sent by the seceding States, and their trial for treason. This advice was as characteristic of Butler to give as of Buchanan to disregard.

"J. O.," writing to the *Pall Mall Gazette*, points out how unfounded is the accusation that the negro race is particularly ferocious. During the recent insurrection in Palermo the most horrible atrocities were committed by the insurgents upon the Italian troops. One artilleryman was found nailed to the barracks, and mutilated in the most horrible manner. A carbineer, who refused to cry "Viva la Republica," was stabbed with repeated poniard trusts, and then, while living, thrown into a fire. One soldier was sentenced to be bitten to death, and the *women* set upon him and literally tore him to pieces with their teeth. The flesh of the captured and tortured soldiers was sold at so much a pound. All this took place, not among men with black skins, nor in the domains of the King of Dahomey, but among whites and in civilized Europe. What do we find comparable to this in the Jamaica rebellion? Sixteen white people were massacred by the negroes in hot blood, after twenty of their own number had been shot down by the volunteers, and two whites were afterwards massacred. Again, in 1823, there was an insurrection in British Guinea, but though this is the least civilized colony in the West Indies, and though the insurrection took place before the Act of Emancipation, the worst outrages that the negroes are known to have committed were the taking of fire-arms from their masters and putting these last into the stocks. Since then, an interval of forty-four years, including the agitated period that followed emancipation, there is no instance on record of violence, by loss of life, being offered by the negro of British Guinea to the white man.

Innocent Amusement in Texas.—The scene is a town in the interior of Texas.

The actors are two planters of the old *regime*. They sit under a verandah, smoking and spitting.

Jones—"Come, Smith, let's ride home."

Smith—"I'm not ready yet. I have not shot a nigger to-day. I won't go home without shooting a nigger."

Jones—"Well, its late now; too late to shoot niggers to-day."

Smith—"No, it's not; I'm not going home without shooting a nigger."

Jones—"Shoot that boy over there."

Smith—looking at him critically—"No, I won't shoot him; he's rather a good fellow; I'll shoot another."

Jones—"Well, come, mount; we'll see one on the road."

They mount and ride away. Presently they ride by a hut, in the doorway of which sits an old negro man. Jones reins up:

"There, I guess I'll shoot him; he's a good mark there."

Pulls out his pistol, fires, kills the negro.

Jones—"Now we'll go home; I made up my mind to shoot a nigger before I went home this night."

Jones and Smith were arrested; being "gentlemen" they demanded to be handed over to the civil authorities. They were at once let out on easy bail. Thereupon the military authorities rearrested them, and we hear they are to be tried by military authority, and will probably be hanged—unless somebody bails them again.

This is an actual and recent occurrence, related to us by a Texan.—*N. Y. Eve. Post.*

The negroes do not know their ages, and in many cases scarcely know their names or their residence. But this makes no difference. If they have a black skin, that is all the passport needed.—*Argus.*

They know enough to maintain a true loyalty to their country, and that is more than ever their oppressors did. They know enough to maintain their own and the nation's rights, and that is greater knowledge than was ever possessed by their decriers. They know enough to prefer loyalty to treason in the councils of the State and Nation, and freedom from oppression as the moving spirit of our institutions, and that is an intelligence not possessed by their assailants. Hundreds vote in the Northern States who know as little as the negro. But that affords no reason for trampling upon their rights. Even the *Argus* would not hold that it did. But paint them black, and how quick ignorance becomes the excuse for oppression.—*Albany Evening Journal.*

Ex-Gov. Perry of South Carolina has published a series of elaborate measurements of the skulls of the chimpanzee, the gorilla, the negro, and the white man, by which he discovers that the enfranchisement of the negro is a grievous wrong to the monkeys and himself. The profundity of his argument will command the respect of the world, but before accepting its conclusion we would like Mr. Perry to furnish the exact measurement of his own head. We want an absolute standard of comparison. Will Mr. Perry furnish it?—*Tribune.*

Freedmen's Bureau Rations Discontinued.—Gen. Schofield issued an order at Richmond, Va., Aug. 8., that after the 20th inst. all the destitute in the State be turned over by the military authorities to the Overseers of the Poor in the respective counties and cities. The Freedmen's Bureau rations will no longer be issued.

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, AUGUST 17, 1867.

JOHNSON AND STANTON.

Johnson has challenged Stanton. The reticent Secretary of War accepts the challenge. The duel monopolizes the attention of the whole land. Nobody but the President doubts the result; unless, possibly Seward may be equally deluded.

Still though the result is certain, the country is naturally anxious as to the path by which the goal is to be reached. Stanton submits and resigns under protest—and to the consternation of the country Grant takes his place. On this precise point we forbear comment until events show their course more fully. Meanwhile the rebels murder negroes and Unionists at their pleasure, Texas is given up to anarchy, and Kentucky is a den of assassins.

How anxiously Union men, North and South, warned Congress against the folly of adjourning after tinkering that single flaw which Stanbery had invented in the Reconstruction act; assuring Senators that another would be invented the moment it was needed. The President picks this flaw in the Civil Office Tenure act; rendered bold because he has no Congress to fear till November.

One can hardly blame the President for this subterfuge. Senators refused to impeach, and tried instead to envelope him in a net of limitations. He naturally tries to find a break or dropped stitch in the net. Knowing the whole movement was more than half a sham, he is too old a gamester not to see the trick. They affect supreme anxiety about violating the Constitution by any attempt at impeachment. In reality they are scheming for a Presidential candidate. Are there foxes in the Senate cunning enough to hide their tracks from Reynard in the State Department? When Johnson reads Senator Sherman's speeches, he probably quotes his own words, "When you hear a man prate of the Constitution, spot him; he is a traitor." When Seward reads Fessenden, he remembers Avonmore's portrait of Clare, "one who stickles for the letter of the Constitution with the affectation of a pride and abandons its principles with the effrontery of a prostitute." Do such men make the White House traitor afraid? No indeed. A Capitol full of them would be only poppies and mandragora to medicine him to sweet sleep. He fears a House of Representatives full of Radicals—a Senate whose foremost men demand his impeachment. What use of laws to mesh and hold such a rebel? What he needs is an overseer while he remains in office and to be thrust out of it as soon as possible.

Meanwhile, see how rebels grow bold and Unionists fly and hide themselves. See how each mail brings fresh news of negroes hunted and murdered. Whence this new courage in rebels? It comes because, for the hour, the President, unchecked, represents and wields the government; because that rebels see that Johnson has tools enough in the Senate to strike out that provision of the House's bill forbidding him to remove the District Commanders, and, by adjourning Congress, take the clutch of the Radicals from the nape of his neck.

For every broken heart and desolate home in the South, for every murdered black there, we hold Fessenden, Wilson, Edmunds, Conklin, and their clan, responsible. We will not be told that by such a course this man's chances for the Presidency are strengthened, and that other measure is sure to be advanced. The policy which stalks to its purpose over bloody hearths and murdered men is devilish. No game is admissable where the counters are life and death. Heartless men shall not sit in the Capitol playing with the lives of negroes and Unionists, and escape rebuke merely because they style themselves *politicians*. Their proper style is *murderers*. We know that we use strong language. Let the reader put himself beside the hunted Unionist of Texas—let him stand under the desolate roof whose owner has just been shot in presence of his wife and children—let him think of the negroes ruthlessly murdered by hundreds—and then ask himself if the strongest terms we can use do not halt and linger far behind the truth?

If Stanton is removed, those Senators did it. If Rousseau goes to New Orleans to take Sheridan's place, they sent him there. To get places for their families—to leave national finance wholly in the hands of capital—to engineer Grant's nomination, those men opposed impeachment, and voted to adjourn Congress, leaving Johnson free course all the Summer, only that they might carry on their plots. It is unfair to single out one sinner. Johnson could do little harm without the aid of these men, his satellites and tools in the Senate. If Johnson dares to-day to challenge Stanton, it is not because Kentucky and Louisiana rebels fill his ante-chamber and Seward poisons his ear. It is not because the *World* and Chicago *Times* bluster in his behalf. He dares to-day to challenge Stanton, because Henry Wilson, Grant's jackal, consents to carry the challenge, and Fessenden, in return for a dozen offices given to his kindred, acts as second in the fray.

Do not let us so disgrace the American people and discredit their intelligence and virtue as to tell the world that an exposed and all but convicted rebel, of Johnson's calibre, can mislead them and jeopard their future. Having survived Lee and Davis, who had, at least, ability, let us not show this nation trembling before a clumsy knave, with neither character nor ability. Let us not admit that our fellow-citizens are overawed by a Cabinet like that at Washington. Few of its members ever had any reputation, either for honor or ability, to lose; and no one had any reputation, which in the eyes of an intelligent public, could endure keeping such company. No, let us tell the truth. The nation watches this duel in anxious suspense only because Wilson, Sherman, Fessenden, and their fellows stand behind the President; because they stab the Secretary of War.

Wendell Phillips.

Correction.—In our article of last week on "Francis Jackson's Will," there were two words omitted which need to be supplied. The last sentence but one in the second paragraph should read thus: The Court decided that the clauses which gave money for lectures and tracts to secure political rights for *women* were void; that not being a "legal charity."

JOHN BRIGHT.

John Bright has given us his judgment as to whether the friends of a movement should watch it to its close, or surrender it when within sight of the goal to new converts. Though tories give votes to householders, he says: The "voter must have the shelter of the ballot, and he recommended Reform Leagues to continue their organization until that was obtained, and further declares that the Reform Leagues must all retain their organization, and henceforth see that the people get the shelter from undue influence securable only by the (secret) ballot, that national education is secured, and that Ireland receives justice."

Let Abolitionists imitate this statesmanlike sagacity in watching till the negro's rights are secured beyond all doubt.

INFLUENCE OF SLAVERY ON RELIGION.

Slavery, they tell us, is abolished; but the people who tell us this (rather in advance of the fact) are very apt to assume that the *results* of slavery—the traits of character which that institution has cultivated among the people of the United States—the influence it has wrought upon our other institutions—are also abolished; wiped off clean, as with a sponge, from the surface, and also eradicated from the inner substance of the nation.

There could not be a greater error. The results of a century of education are not so easily disposed of. The ways of living, thinking, speaking, acting, which a people choose to adopt and *choose to continue* through a series of generations, make no merely superficial impress upon the nation; they are ingrained in its texture and structure; they are bred in the bone, and must long continue to make themselves manifest in the flesh.

The religion of this nation upheld slavery just as thoroughly, just as heartily, with just as much elaborateness of arrangement and intensity of purpose, as its politics did. The Baptists, Methodists, Presbyterians and Episcopalians of the South were strong enough, any day when they had chosen to combine for that purpose, to overthrow slavery; but they preferred to retain it, and were not ashamed to defend it; and that defence, receiving as it did the co-operation of the same sects in the North, was, as James G. Birney called it, "The Chief Bulwark" of slavery. When the Abolitionists assailed slavery, its defence was promptly taken up by the leaders of all these sects; and the Northern Orthodox Congregationalists being intimately associated with these in the maintainance of certain theological ideas held in common, and in the support of the tract and missionary societies founded to propagate them—*their* leaders also joined in the defence of slavery.

Here a word of explanation is necessary. The defence of slavery which I bring as an accusation against the leaders of those sects in the North was not literal, or direct, nor yet spontaneous, proceeding from an actual preference for slavery—save in exceptional cases like those of Parsons Blagden and Southside Adams of Boston, President Lord of Dartmouth College, and Rev. Dr. Samuel Seabury of the Episcopal Church in New York—it was only, on the part of the great majority, an upholding of the cause of their ecclesiastical "brethren," their sectarian allies in the South, when these were charged with unchristian conduct in holding slaves. The "niggers" were nothing to them; but a very large number of the slaveholders were their "brethren in Christ," members of the group of sects which they recognized as the truest and purest representatives of Christianity, just as good Methodists, Baptists, Presbyterians and Episcopalians as themselves. Of course (like the knights of old in regard to their knightly associates), they must defend *them* against all comers. So, when the slaveholding of these brethren of theirs was declared (and proved) to be an unchristian position, they declared it to be *not* unchristian, but perfectly right, "under the circumstances." The amount of it was, that the zeal and heartiness with which they conducted the defence of their accused brethren was, practically, a most efficient defence of slavery. The vigor and unanimity with which these churches repelled the charge that slaveholding was incompatiable with the Christian character was, no doubt, the chief agency which deferred for so many years the popular recognition of slavery an inexcusable vice, a sin.

The great Presbyterian denomination—the largest in the United States after the Baptist and Methodist sects—was rent assunder by internal dissension in 1837. The cause of the disruption was two-fold, being partly a difference of theological opinion (very difficult to explain to outsiders, and, in my judgment, not worthy the trouble of explaining), and partly a disagreement in regard to slavery. It is of the latter only that I propose here to speak.

We all know what strong points have been carried, against overwhelming numbers, by the earnestness and persistence of anti-slavery minorities. There was a small, but energetic leaven of anti-slavery in the Presbyterian body. It could not persude the churches of that sect to renounce slaveholding—it could not prevent them from tolerating slavery; but, in 1818, it succeeded in getting very forcible affirmations of the unchristian character of slavery expressed in an Act of the General Assembly, side by side with that practical tolerance and continuance of the institution which the majority insisted on preserving. Thus the document in question was a house divided against itself, and the elements of strife in the sect thenceforth continued to increase, until 1837, when the body broke in sunder.

After this rupture, the Southern branch of the sect (thenceforth called Old School Presbyterians) defended slavery more pertinaciously than ever, maintaining its rectitude, expediency and Christian character, while the Northern branch (New School) saw the anti-slavery minority increasing in its bosom year by year, as it did in most other sects and parties, under the fervent exhortations of the Abolitionists. This minority wished the practice of the sect to be comformed to the estimate of slavery expressed in the Act of 1818, so that those just and forcible words might no longer stand as a dead letter; but the church-feeling against Abolitionists, as disturbers of the peace of their Israel, was so strong that anti-slavery made less progress there than among "worldly" politicians and business men, and when the crash of secession came, which sealed the doom of slavery, the Northern Presbyterian church, which thought itself "the salt of the earth," had to quicken its steps to keep up with the rear-guard of the Republican party.

Public opinion, however, crystalized very fast during the last years of the war and the years following; and the Northern Presbyterians adjusted themselves to the new state of things with as much alacrity and as little awkwardness as most of the other sects, and their periodical religious organs now talk against slavery as glibly as if they had never upheld it. But while they were executing this movement, another state of things, not less peculiar and chracteristic, was developing itself among their Southern denominational brethren.

The Presbyterians of the South, like its other religious sects, were among the most zealous defenders of secession as well as of slavery. They chose the former for the sake of preserving the latter, and their change of circumstances has not in the least changed their opinions, nor their wishes. They have yielded to the hand of power, to military necessity, but their feelings and sympathies still cling to "the Lost Cause," and the bitterest drop in their cup will be to see the negroes over whom they tyrannized assuming civil and political rights, taking part in the elections, and sending their children to the public schools. In short the Southern Presbyterians would have slavery back if they could; and their utmost exertions will be used to keep the colored people separate from the whites and subordinate to them, even in freedom. Ample evidence of this was adduced in The Standard of Feb. 23d, both from the action of the Southern General Assembly, shortly before in session at Memphis, and from the language of eminent Presbyterians in vindication of that body and its action.

Now a plan comes up for Union of the two great branches of the Presbyterian Church in the United States. A Joint Committee have reported an elaborate plan to this end which has received the hearty concurrence of the Northern (New School) branch, lately in session at Rochester. After an introduction expressing the belief that "the main causes producing division have either wholly passed away, or become in a great degree inoperative," the report proposes a reunion on the doctrinal ecclesiastical basis of the common standards of the two bodies; that is, it is proposed to unite by entirely ignoring and disregarding the points that before were thought important enough to justify separation.

The point to which I wish to draw attention is the effect which slavery, tolerated and cherished for a century past, has wrought upon the Presbyterian estimate of *piety*. The original theory of admission to the Presbyterian church was that the candidate must be "regenerate;" changed in the spirit and temper of his mind, not having laid aside merely the outward practice of sin, but converted from the *love* of sin, and converted *to* the love of holiness. And this still remains the theory, nominally! This church really pretends to be the salt of the earth and the light of the world; and invites people everywhere to join it, on the assumption that thus the Christian character will be best developed, and the will of God best fulfilled. It is seriously assumed by its clergy, its elders, its church-members, that the young man or young woman just entering upon the world will find in union with *them* the best incitements to spirituality of heart and purity of life, and the best examples of truly Christian character. And yet the better half of the two great branches of this church, the party that caused slaveholding to be described as a sin, and stigmatized as especially subversive of the Christian character, in one of the most solemn official documents of a General Assembly, are now making special efforts to persuade the other half—open, flagrant and persistent advocates of slavery—open, flagrant and persistent maintainers of the heathen institution of *caste*—to come back and join them, offering as a bribe in favor of this union the promise no longer to rebuke their sin!

Think of it! A body of regenerate persons, claiming Christian purity as the characteristic of their church, describing slaveholding as a heinous sin, yet allowing the practice of it up to the point when the unregenerate "world" (avowedly at the dictate of worldly policy and military necessity) made a law against it! This, it would seem, was bad enough! But the Presbyterian church is behind the world, alike in theory and practice. Just at the time when "worldly" reformers, alike in military and civil life, are making special efforts to keep out the favorers of slavery and *caste* from the government and administration of the States in process of reconstruction, knowing that such men must of necessity have a corrupting and deteriorating influence—the New school! the reformatory branch! of the regenerate Presbyterian Church are taking special pains to invite lovers of slavery and cherishers of *caste* to come back into union with them, on the express understanding that they are no more to be rebuked for those vices! And all this is done in the name of Christian unity! And the Methodists, Baptists, and Orthodox Congregationalists, even while declaiming against slavery and *caste* as sins, are drawing nearer to these Presbyterians, also in the name of Christian unity! Well may we ask, with Whittier—

"Just God and holy! is that church which lends
Strength to the spoiler, Thine?"

C. K. W.

Mr. James O'Brien, an enterprising wholesale and retail news agent, at No. 29 South Sixth street, will hereafter have The Standard for sale in Philadelphia.

A friend sends us a copy of a speech made to the colored citizens of Hartford, upon Emancipation and Impartial Suffrage, by the Hon. Francis Gillette, the bold utterances of which we would gladly transfer to our columns. The meeting in question was numerously attended, and the interest manifested by all present showed that the good seed sown would soon bear fruit, even in hitherto sterile Connecticut.

To our esteemed friend J. M. Scovel, of Camden, N. J., we are indebted for an able defence of Horace Greeley from certain charges in a lengthy article in the *Northern Monthly*, which we hope to make extracts from when space permits.

The Suspension of Secretary Stanton.—The long quivering axe has at length fallen. The President has nerved himself to the task, and dismissed the contumacious Secretary. The event for days had been so generally anticipated that its occurrence (Aug. 12) excited but little surprise, and was so quietly accomplished that it was not even generally known in Washington for hours after the correspondence. The Secretary is succeeded by Gen. U. S. Grant as Secretary of War *ad interim*, whom, it is supposed, will shortly be succeeded by some Northern incumbent, and speculation is already busy as to the probable successor. The correspondence between the parties, as other than indicative of views, is not particularly interesting, and of too great length to permit us at this hour to publish. The removal of Secretary Stanton, although a measure wholly unjustifiable, as it is not pretended even that he did not faithfully discharge the duties of his office, will, we think, on the whole, be a gain to the country. His presence in the Cabinet at best was a negative protection, while it diverted from his chief a great deal of indignation that justly belonged to him and prevented his policy from quickly working its own destruction. Now the lines will be closely drawn. The President has resolved upon opposing Reconstruction; Congress has resolved that the laws shall be enforced, and the issue henceforth will be plain and unmistakable. Beyond the power of any Republican will it be to make the Cabinet worthy the confidence of his party, and what the end must inevitably be time will soon render apparent. One thing, the struggle between the President and his Minister renders clear, and that is the political bias (which should ere this have been realized) of his successor. The moment Gen. Grant acceded to the desire of the President, and sent word to the Secretary that he had accepted the position, he clearly defined his political status, and put it out of the power of all, save those wilfully blind, to mistake his position. Had he refused to have anything to do with the arbitrary, if not illegal, suspension of an officer whose only crime was fidelity to his duty, he might have enabled Mr. Stanton to act differently, and would have gained a laurel forfeited for ever.

The New Rebellion.—From all the information we can gather from Southern sources, it is very evident that the President and his rebel allies are determined upon, not only preventing Reconstruction, but an organized and armed movement against the government. The suspension of Stanton; the removal of the gallant Sheridan, only deferred, not abandoned; the hostile attitute of Kentucky and Georgia, in the latter of which Toombs, Hill and Johnson are openly preaching violence, are only the outward evidences of the existence of that atrocious plot which is rapidly extending throughout every State lately in rebellion. Then the war-cry was *down with the Union and government*; now it will be *for the Executive and his views*. We do not wish to play the part of the alarmist; but he who scans the actions of the President, sees his utter lack of principle, and surveys the entire situation of the South, will see that there exists the gravest cause for apprehension. It is well to watch and be ready. That mischief, irreparable in character, is intended, is evident. The remedy lies in bold, vigorous, radical agitation; and we call upon every friend of freedom, every advocate of justice and humanity to be doubly vigilant, and see that this second attempt against the life of the nation and inalienable liberty be not as disastrous in consequences as the first.

An accumulation of matter prevents us from using much of value that would otherwise appear in The Standard. Our friends will please bear with us, believing that we desire to act with equal justice to all, and present to the reader what will be regarded as of the greatest value to the cause.

PERSONAL.

The poet Whittier is at the Isle of Shoals.

Jean Ingelow is 28, unmarried, and homely.

The late Ira Aldridge married a Swedish lady of rank and very wealthy.

Charles Reade, the English novelist, will visit this country in the Fall.

A well-known dramatist is preparing Beecher's novel, *Norwood*, for the stage.

Mrs. Bella Z. Spencer, a literary lady of some distinction, and a writer for the Philadelphia papers, died in Alabama last week. She was the wife of Gen. George E. Spencer.

Mr. Elias Howe, Jr., who has been at the point of death, is convalescent, and left this city for Boston yesterday. He was suffering from enlargement of the heart and a dropsical disorder, and had vainly sought relief from physicians in London and Paris.

Grace Anna Lewis, of Philadelphia, well known to the Abolitionists of Pennsylvania as an early, devoted and faithful co-worker in the anti-slavery cause, is achieving, we are glad to see, a high reputation as a student and teacher of natural science, particularly of Ornithology. In the "Proceedings of the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia," for last April and May, John Cassin, who, as an Ornithologist, is acknowledged in scientific circles, both in this country and Europe, to be second to no other in America, pays her a graceful compliment by giving to a new species of birds of the genus "*Icterus*," the name "Icterus Grace-Annæ, nobis." He says: "This handsome little bird I have named in honor of my highly-esteemed friend, Miss Grace Anna Lewis, of this city: accomplished as a teacher of Natural History, conscientious in all social duties and relations, faithful in her friendships." In the Journal of the Academy for March of last year, also, Mr. Cassin handsomely alluded to Miss Lewis, giving her credit for a discovery she has made, of no inconsiderable value to his favorite science. After describing two allied species of birds, he added: "The points of distinction between" them, "and especially the infallible character, as I regard it, to be found in the difference of the color at the bases of the feathers, I am happy to acknowledge were first pointed out to me by Miss Grace Anna Lewis, most favorably known, and deservedly so, as a lecturer and teacher of Ornithology and General Natural History. Miss Lewis is one of several accomplished ladies who have most diligently studied in the Library and Museum of this Academy during the present Winter, and not only successfully, but have contributed in the highest degree to the general agreeableness of the similar pursuits of their fellow-students of the stronger sex."

LETTER FROM SALLIE HOLLEY.

Extract of a letter to Miss Caroline F. Putnam: "We celebrated the first day of August at Watkins—quite a party of us from Elmira—Dr. Gleason, Hon. Asher Tyler and the Misses Tyler, and others. The morning we passed in the wonderful glen there, so wildly beautiful as to attract thousands of visitors every year. In the afternoon we heard Mr. Frederick Douglass in a fine, eloquent speech, before an audience of two thousand people—an open-air meeting. Mr. Charles L. Remond came too. He was in excellent voice, and with his 'soul of fire' moved the audience to surprise and delighted applause, particularly when he named, as a representative of the white race, Andrew Johnson, and as a representative of the black race, Frederick Douglass, and told the audience to choose which best filled his position. Mr. Remond thought Andrew Johnson had failed to keep his promise to be Moses to the black man; and he ought in justice to take from his pocket the three hundred dollar watch purchased for him by the hard-earned money of the colored men of Tennesse, at the time he gave the promise.

"Mr. Douglass said, two hundred years ago in Jamaica a pious and learned divine wrote a book to argue and prove the negro had a right to be *baptised!* Then the 'master' was baptized for the household! But a change had taken place since then, though the negro was not master of the 'situation' yet. When Douglass was demanding for the negro equality before the law—that government should know no distinction of color—no white, no black man—a man in the audience cried out, 'That's a damnable sentiment;' to which Douglass replied, 'Take care lest it damn you.' The negro had been thought 'a natural born Christian.' 'If you smite him on one cheek, he will turn the other also;' but the war had shown he would *fight*. He was philosopher enough not to fight when he had no reasonable prospect of whipping anybody. Douglass likes people who will fight; don't admire sheep-like natures. Fighting was the most respectable thing in this country. The man who can fight the best was most likely to be President. Douglass said the Copperheads were saying all over the country *he* was no negro. 'Then,' said he, 'as a white man I have no objection to negro equality before the law.' He did not believe it would lessen *his* chances for the Presidency! The negro would not refuse him his vote on account of his complexion. The negro race were in this country, and here they would remain; it was inevitable; they will not wear out; they will not die out; and now that slavery is abolished, they will not fade out. The question is, shall they remain as a blessing or a curse? Those Democrats in the Constitutional Convention at Albany, laboring to keep equal rights from the negro by urging a separate vote on the suffrage amendment, were trying to preserve only the accursed system of slavery. He spoke of white-coated Greeley and the noble character of Gerrit Smith being thrust between infamous Jeff Davis and the honest, hot indignation of the North. He did not like it; did not think we ought to *forget* what Jeff Davis had done; his release was an outrage. He believed the Almighty gave us *memory* for a purpose—to remember just such things. Even Christianity did not ask us to forgive without repentance. Douglass don't wish to forget Andersonville, Belle Isle, Libby Prison. All over the country, on the cars and in steamboats, in city streets, in private homes, he met wounded and crippled soldiers, maimed and marred, armless, legless men—marks of Jeff Davis's crime and malignant character. A government that don't hate traitors can't love loyal men. This government does not know how to punish traitors. A man who loves liberty strongest and best is the one who hates and detests slavery and treason the worst. The negro owes nothing to the Republican party, nothing to the popular religion of this country. He thought this government had as much reason to be grateful to the negro as the negro had to be grateful to this government. Abraham Lincoln did not let the oppressed go free until the safety of this government demanded it. Like Pharaoh of old, it was of the awful suffering that came upon him. Emancipation was owing to the irresistible logic of events. The negro owed gratitude and thanks to Almighty God. He introduced his newly-arrived, dear brother Perry, from whom he had been separated forty years. He had often tried to find him; had sent agents down South again and again, but never could get any trace of him. Slavery hid him away forty years—whelmed him in its loathsome, bitter flood. He spoke of his unspeakable joy in his being restored to him again. The sight of those two long-parted brothers standing side by side—one with his culture and courage, the other in his truth and affection—moved the audience to tears. It seemed a picture for an artist. It was the first time Perry ever heard Frederick make a speech; it was a great event to him. He was in Texas when emancipation was proclaimed, and overheard his master say he had 'run his *property* into Texas, and then he could run it into Cuba.' Then Perry said he knew something was wrong about master, and he made up his 'mind never to go on the water.' Perry don't wish ever to go South again, he prefers living in the North. At first sight, his honest face wins interest and confidence, which his good sense and religious trust confirm. He is older than Frederick, and smaller and darker. He will reside near his brother in Rochester."

Our Boston Correspondence.

Boston, August 11th, 1867.

I am glad to see the praise given, in your last issue, to Mrs. L. Maria Child's admirable book, "A Romance of the Republic;" but justice to the dead requires an immediate correction of your statement, there incidentally made, that "Uncle Tom's Cabin" was "the first," or even the first "great" novel based upon slavery.

"Uncle Tom's Cabin" was first published, as weekly chapters, in the columns of the *National Era*, in Washington, D. C., in 1851-2. In 1852 it was published in book form, and had immediately the wide diffusion and well-deserved popularity which we all know. But the way had been prepared for it by two much earlier anti-slavery novels, which, though admirable both in sentiment and execution, failed of the estimation due them through falling upon harder times, when slavery was patronized and protected by the State, and treated as a divinely ordained institution by the dominant Church, and the Bible, Tract and Missionary Societies which represented that Church.

The old subscribers to The Standard can hardly fail to remember "Archy Moore," a novel in no respect inferior to "Uncle Tom's Cabin," and in one particular superior to it. It was written in 1835 by Richard Hildreth (lately deceased), and printed in Boston in 1836.

Whoever has the good fortune to possess a copy of the first edition of "Archy Moore" should value it like fine gold, and see that, sooner or later, it is placed in some public library for preservation. The title-page of the book shows an important fact in the history of those times. The work was printed in Boston, *but not published*. In 1836 no Boston publisher dared put his name to it. Garrison had been mobbed only the year before, and the whole daily press of this city, with such weekly "religious" papers as then existed here, were utterly opposed to any interference with slavery even by the publication of facts showing its character. The State protected it as constitutional and legal; the representatives of the Church claimed it as divine. To become an Abolitionist at that day was to lose caste with the public, and to incur the intensest disapproval of relatives and friends.

Richard Hildreth was a man of vigor and resolution enough to meet difficulties of this sort without fear. Though his book could not be published, he caused it to be printed, and had the first edition put in circulation, though few booksellers were disposed to assist in selling it. In 1838, or thereabouts, an enterprising young firm in this city, Whipple and Damrell, who were already thought somewhat fanatical for the publication of temperance documents, published a second edition of "Archy Moore;" and in 1840 a third edition was published by the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society.

The success of "Uncle Tom's Cabin," awakening an increased interest in, and demand for, literature of its kind, gave Mr. Hildreth a new opportunity of striking a blow at slavery. He at once wrote a continuation of "Archy Moore," and republished the original work in connection with its bringing down the history to the then present, and interweaving with his story the names (with vivid delineations of the characters) of some of the principal defenders of slavery in Boston. This work, called "The White Slave," published in 1852, had a circulation much larger than the original book, and did excellent service to the cause of freedom.

I have said that another anti-slavery novel besides "Archy Moore" was published in advance of Mrs. Stowe's famous book. The other was called "The Adventures of Jonathan Jefferson Whitlaw; or, Scenes on the Mississippi." By Frances Trollope, Author of "Domestic Manners of the Americans." This handsome book, in three volumes, illustrated by fifteen engravings, had the following inscription:

"To those States of the American Union in which Slavery has been Abolished, or never permitted, these volumes are respectfully dedicated by the Author.

"London, 27th April, 1836."

"Jonathan Jefferson Whitlaw," was a novel of very great merit, and was recognized as such to the extent of receiving republication in The Standard many years ago. It was a free, bold and just representation of the character of slavery in Mississippi and Louisiana, as it existed prior to 1836, and also of the manner in which German emigrants to this country at that period opposed themselves to that detestable system, and tried to make a stand against it, and to assist its victims. The book, considered merely as a novel, is ably written and intensely interesting; and it is but justice to Mrs. Trollope to remember that the America which she criticized so severely was *slaveholding* America; that its morals were no less repugnant to her than its manners; and that she earnestly did, thirty years ago, all in her power to awaken us to the absurdity of attempting to reconcile freedom for ourselves with the infliction of slavery on others.

We Bostonians have come very near—as near as the Irishman did to drawing the highest prize in a lottery when he held the number next to it—seeing a brood of

cygnets, and knowing how near the truth was Hans Andersen's description of a young swan as "an ugly duck."

Two of our six swans in the Public Garden—I must tell you that four are white and two black, and that civil, political and social rights are freely conceded by each to the other—lately undertook to raise a brood. The Superintendent of the Garden assisted them to the extent of building a house over their nest and putting a fence around it to keep off intruders; but he failed to furnish materials suitable and sufficient for the rest, and also to provide a foundation for it above the damp ground. The young housekeepers, however, nothing daunted, plucked up grass, made a nest of it, and, after depositing four large brown eggs, brooded over them assiduously for four weeks. The male was not only willing to take his companion's place when she went out for breakfast and a bath, but he sat close to her all day long, and seemed sometimes to be suggesting that her health required more exercise.

When one day beyond the four weeks had passed, they seemed to become either impatient or suspicious. They took an account of stock, and gave a critical examination of the contents of the nest. The number of eggs was right, but the quality of one was so doubtful that they broke it, and found their worst apprehensions realized. After carefully removing every fragment of the unfortunate egg, they applied themselves incessantly to sitting for two weeks more; at the end of that time they gave up all hope, deserted the nest, and took to the water again. I wish them better luck, and more intelligent help, next time.

You have heard, perhaps, of the fracas in the School Street Universalist Church here. It seems to have been got up, or at any rate fomented, by the senior pastor, Rev. Dr. Miner, with intent to drive away his more liberal colleague, Rev. Rowland Connor. One of his charges against Mr. Connor was that he exchanged with Rev. Edward C. Towne of Medford, as if this were an offence against Universalism, or an injustice to the congregation. I have not seen the language used by Mr. Miner, but he seems to have made various unjust imputations in regard to Mr. Towne, for the latter, a gentleman of high culture, a fine writer, and an able debater, has sent him a challenge through the *Post* of this city. After specifying the ground of complaint, Mr. Towne says to Dr. Miner, "I beg you to name an early day after September 1st for a public discussion of the questions whether my radical faith in God, in man, in the Bible, in Christ and in the Christian church is not truly Christian, and whether your treatment of Rev. Rowland Connor has not been a gross outrage upon him, upon Universalism and upon Christianity."

If this challenge shall be accepted, the Universalists and the public will hear some important truth from Mr. Towne.

NORTH.

LETTER FROM NEW ORLEANS.

NEW ORLEANS, July 31st, 1867.

To the Editor of the Standard:

YESTERDAY was a solemn day for all thoughtful, truly loyal people in this city, being the first anniversary of the horrible massacre, dignified as a riot, and sanctioned by the Chief Magistrate of the nation. Whether the returning date brought any pangs of awakened remorse to the heads and hearts who planned and the hands which executed that vile butchery, I know not. But hundreds of homes are still draped in morning, and thousands assembled yesterday in the Mechanic's Institute, to testify their grief and indignation that the perpetrators of so horrible a crime are still unpunished. But when the father of treason escapes by the hand of miscalled philanthropy, and the parent of murderers occupies the highest seat in the nation, who can wonder that the victims of last July are measurably forgotten, except by those

"Who weep because they weep in vain."

Many of the murdered ones being followers of the Roman Catholic faith, a solemn and imposing mass was performed in the Hall of the Institute by Father Maistre. The Hall was draped in mourning—the wall behind the rostrum hung in black, on which was this inscription in silver letters:

"In memory of the victims of July 30th, 1866."

The altar was also heavily draped, and the catafalque, which was placed in front of the rostrum near the centre of the Hall. The low chanting of the "Miserere," the tones of the responding choir, the surging, bending forms of the audience—who were all mourners—the flicker of the waxen tapers, the occasional sob which burst from some overburdened heart, the last notes of "Implore peace and Amen," were all suitable and impressive, of whatever religious faith the observer might be.

Following the mass was an oration by Hon. Rufus Waples, who rehearsed in an eloquent and elaborate address the immediate cause of the murder, the history of the convention, the "reign of terror," in which Union men met by stealth and spoke in whispers, lest the very walls might betray them; the perfidy of Johnson, the personal record of the most prominent among the martyred ones, closing by a strong appeal to the people in behalf of impeachment, since he who falsely holds the power of the Executive is all unworthy. Mr. Waples was listened to with marked attention, and at the close was applauded. The original poem, In Memoriam, composed for the day and occasion, was very acceptably rendered by the author.

The closing services were by the Rev. Dr. J. B. Smith and Dr. Newman. Thus ended the first anniversary of this great crime, but its memory is as imperishable as the deeds of the heroes that were slain. It is needless for me to say that the rebels, having exhausted their grief and tears in lamenting the death of the foreign Prince who invaded Mexico, and met with an unfortunate but most just death, found no tears for the murdered of their own city—nature's noblemen—whom *they*, without shadow or pretext of law, ruthlessly cut down. Neither did these very sympathetic ones find tears for a President foully slain; nor did those pseudo-philanthropists who follow in the wake of Greeley, Smith & Co. mourn with us. They too have turned their melting eyes toward the "House of Hapsburg," and refuse to "weep," unless it be for joy at some new act of leniency from our most humane Executive!

For us, we spare our tears. We now need strong hearts and ready hands to do the work of Reconstruction in the South and purge the State of its rebel and semi-loyal demagogues. The Republican Executive Committee, having settled their "slight misunderstanding," are applying themselves to the work with a good will, and the surrounding parishes show already the good fruits of the seed which has been scattered by the *few* truly Radical speakers, clubs organized, leagues formed, and general enthusiasm prevailing. When the election of delegates to the State Convention takes place, there can be no doubt as to the result, and should we ever be so fortunate as to again have an election for State, Legislature and Municipal offices, the triumph of impartial suffrage and freedom will be complete. *Ad interem* Gen. Sheridan will proceed to the work of "sifting," and expelling from office all those whose loyalty is even doubtful, and especially those outspoken rebels who, to somebody's shame be it said, have continued for a year to retard the enforcement of the Military bill, and true reconstruction. The first act of the District Commander since the official notification of the late Congressional action, was to appoint as Governor of Texas, E. M. Pease, vide Throckmorton removed. His *next* act, we sincerely hope, will be the removal of an infamously rebel and defiant City Counsel, who continue to issue city money, and pass all bills over the veto of the Mayor, thus retarding in every way the administration of law and justice. Following this the *Union* people, who are few in number, long suffering, and deserving, should receive the most important offices, for the reason that the *tried* loyalist is the only one who can take the required oath, or properly aid in executing the law.

The rebels complain of the injustice of the Military bill; but it is of their own creation, and, notwithstanding their cry of "tyranny," they *respect power*. The loyalists only wish the measures had been at first so strict as to render misinterpretation and evasion impossible. But we are all hopeful, earnest and ready to work. The colored freemen here understand the issues of the law as well as we do, and here in the city where intimidation is impossible, are outspoken and fearless. Could you see them crowd the offices of registration with eager, joyous countenances; could you hear them in their clubs and leagues speak of the rights which are inalienable to all; could you have seen their tearful eyes and saddened faces yesterday as they gathered *en masse* to pay their tribute to the memory of their friends and companions, you could not doubt their ability to aid in the work of establishing a "republican form of government" in these States. With Congress, Sheridan, and the colored freemen, we shall win.

C. L. V. D.

LETTER FROM IOWA.

NEWTON, Iowa, Aug. 7th, 1867.

To the Editor of the Standard:

THERE broad, beautiful Iowan prairies seem to be the natural home of Radicalism; and anybody who can be "Conservative" here must be uncommonly depraved. And indeed I have scarcely conversed with a man since I entered the State, who is not ahead of politicians in his ideas of national matters. I suppose there are people here who have so utterly lost all self-respect as to support Johnson and his followers, but I have not heard a single man confess such sentiments during a three months' residence in the centre of the State. Greeley is a laughing-stock for his former friends and admirers, for Iowan soldiers have not forgot the weary marches and awful horrors of the rebellion, and are not disposed to support men who rush to the rescue of the head-traitor.

Popular leaders will learn by and by that the American people are too intelligent to follow them unless they go right. We have seen some impressive examples of this during the last few years. Seward once led the Republicans, but to-day his name is a hissing and by-word all over the land. Beecher was once almost an idol with the party, but that fatal blunder of his about the Philadelphia Convention has so shaken the confidence of the people that he can never regain his lost position. Multitudes of others, too, who were once in the front, are now lagging in the rear. The advance of ideas is more rapid among the people than political would-be leaders are willing to acknowledge. Thad. Stevens with his glorious record, is more popular among the masses to-day than any wire-pulling Conservative in Congress. His very name sends a thrill through every patriot's heart. Would that we had a hundred more such staunch friends of freedom in the halls of the Nation!

The West seems to be ahead of the East in most of the reforms of the day. People here have no old ruts in which they feel bound to travel because their fathers did, but are ready to seek a more excellent way whenever opportunity offers. The resources of this great Northwest are perfectly amazing, and they are being rapidly developed by a race of energetic liberty-loving, reformatory people. Coming here after a long sojourn in Virginia and North Carolina, the contrast between the people is startling. There they were idle, thriftless, poor; here they are wide-awake, prosperous and well off. God be praised that the terrible blight of slavery has been removed from the South, and God speed those who are toiling to erase its fearful stains!

S. J. WHITON.

OBITUARY.

DIED, at Fairmount, Stark County, Ohio, August 2, ROBERT HILLIS, in the 85th year of his age.

Thus has gone to his rest another of the early, tried and ever-faithful Abolitionists of Ohio. Quiet and unobtrusive, he was ever firm and with ever a fitting word in advocacy of whatever his clear moral vision indicated as right. Born a member of the Society of Friends, he to the last adhered uncompromisingly to the distinctive principles of liberty, peace and goodwill which characterized the Society's early history; but with a heart too large and loving to be a sectarian or a bigot, he preferred his principles above the church and all other mere instrumentalities, and hence was most ready to cooperate with those men and those associations most earnest and active in promoting those principles. When, therefore, the Society of Friends, in his judgment, sought to restrict free inquiry, to limit free speech, and to cripple free action, he stepped aside from its narrow policy, and, with others of his neighborhood like-minded with himself, organized an independent religious society recognizing the utmost freedom of opinion, and in fellowship with the "Progressive Friends." This little society is now, as it has ever been, faithful to the idea of religious freedom, and active in promoting personal goodness and practical righteousness.

He was an Abolitionist, and his fidelity as such was recognized by his repeated appointment as a member of the Executive Committee of the Western Anti-Slavery Society. The most earnest and thorough in that body ever found him quietly but firmly by their side, at whatever cost of popularity. If the measures were right and true, he never flinched from their support; but in those days Abolitionists had to walk only by faith, as they moved amidst a nation of scoffing infidels and traitors to liberty; and now his name is added to the list of departed members of that committee, who, like himself, were year after year elected to do its work. Benjamin S. Jones, Benjamin Bown, James Barnaby, Abram Brooke, and now Robert Hillis, all of whom wrought faithfully and well, are with us no more. But their works follow them. They are their everlasting memorial.

Our friend was most earnest to the last that *thorough* measures should be taken to secure the blessings of liberty fully to all; and his sympathy was earnestly with those now most active to secure this end.

His long life ended fittingly in peace. He was at times almost impatient that his end should come, now that by reason of age his work was done, but always cheerful and confident of the future.

His funeral was attended by his friends and neighbors at the house of his son, William Hillis, at Fairmount, whence, after a brief address by M. R. Robinson, his remains were conveyed to the cemetery in Salem, and deposited beside those of his wife, who departed this life about two years ago, and at very nearly the same age of our friend at his decease.

Salem, August 7, 1867.

IRA ALDRIDGE.

IRA ALDRIDGE, the actor, died in Poland on the 10th inst. He was a mulatto, and was born at a village called Bellair, near Baltimore, Md., about 1810, and was apprenticed to a ship carpenter, learning his trade in the same yard with Molynœux, the notorious negro pugilist and prize fighter. From association with the German population, which is very large on the Western shore of Maryland, he learned to speak the German language familiarly, and also picked up a degree of education rarely obtained by those of African descent where negro slavery exists. When Edmund Kean was in the United States, after the troubles which occurred during 1826 in consequence of the Cox difficulties, Aldridge became his personal attendant, and accompanied him to England, where his natural talent for the stage was developed and cultivated. He returned to the United States after a short absence, and some time subsequent to 1830 appeared at Baltimore at a theatre then known as "The Mud Theatre," which subsequently belonged to Junius Brutus Booth, the tragedian. He appears not to have been successful.

There is no account of his having appeared in any other city in America, whence after a short time he returned to England. He began his career in some of the minor theatres of London, and then went to the provinces, drawing large houses. At Belfast, in Ireland, he played Othello to Kean's Iago, and also Orozembo to the same artist's Alban. He thence proceeded to the Continent, and appeared in Amsterdam, Brussels, Berlin, Breslau, Vienna, Pesth, Koenigsberg, Dantzic, the Hague, Berne, Frankfort-on-the-Maine, Dresden, Cracow, Gotha, St. Petersburg, and other cities, personating characters of every style and nationality. In most of these cities he received substantial tokens of approbation. The King of Prussia, at Berlin, wrote him an autograph letter, accompanying the first-class medal of art and science. The Emperor of Austria conferred on him the Grand Cross of Leopold, and at Berne he received the medal of Merit in the shape of a magnificent Maltese cross. The Czar of Russia gave him similar decorations. In Germany, Aldridge was looked on as performing the Shakesperian characters with marked ability, but in England he has not often appeared in any of Shakspeare's plays except Othello, and the Merchant of Venice. In Zanga, Orozembo, Zorambo, Rolla Hugo (in the Padlock), and other characters, the physiognomy of which suits his color, he was thought to display rare excellence. He was also a good comedian. After returning from his Continental tour, Aldridge appeared at Covent Garden, in 1857, and after an engagement at the Brittania, visited Sweden, where he created a great furore, and was highly honored by King Oscar. He then paid a second visit to Russia, returning to England by way of the Continent, his route being marked with a series of triumphal successes. Some years ago a law procedure affecting his domestic relations attracted much attention in London. His wife was a white woman. At the time of his death he was fulfilling an engagement in Poland. He was engaged to appear at the Academy of Music, in this city, during the month of September.

LITERARY.

THE July number of the *Westminster Review* is chiefly valuable for an eloquent and able essay entitled, "The Future of Reform." The claims of Mr. John Stuart Mill, and of his noble minority, are strongly defended, and the inalienable right of woman to the electoral franchise is most convincingly and most thoroughly sustained. It augurs well for the cause of Equal Rights when a periodical so powerful as the *Westminster* is so enthusiastic in its behalf. Other articles of interest are also to be found in this number; that entitled "Lyric Feuds" is especially so. We commend the *Westminster* to all honest thinkers, and to all who are enlisted in behalf of human progress.

THE editor of *Every Saturday* must be praised for the good taste by which his selections from foreign journals are guided. Messrs. Ticknor and Fields are entitled to the thanks of all cultivated Americans. Nothing of interest in the wide field of foreign literature escapes their attention; and, so far as may be, they reproduce the best efforts of English trans-Atlantic journalism. The number for August 10th is an excellent exemplification of Messrs. Ticknor and Fields's enterprise in this regard.

OUR juvenile friends cannot complain that their claims are forgotten by the publishing fraternity. *Oliver Optic's Magazine—Our Boys and Girls*—continues to present food which will be eagerly devoured by our young friends. "Breaking Away," Oliver Optic's interesting narrative of a student's fortunes, is as attractive as ever, and his corps of assistants furnish the usual quantity of entertaining matter.

NOT less welcome to our table is the *School-day Visitor*, which, as our readers already know, is published at Philadelphia. *The Visitor* is in its twelfth volume, and numbers among its contributors some of the best writers upon subjects congenial to youthful minds. We notice among these names that of Charles D. Gardette, whose pen seems to be as facile and as graceful in prose as in verse.

RECEIVED.

Every Saturday, No. 85. Ticknor & Fields, 124 Tremont street, Boston.

The Friend, No. 8. 131 William street, New York.

NED NEVINS, THE NEWS-BOY, a 12mo., 418 pages. By Henry Morgan. Publishers: Lee & Shepard, Boston.

LITTLE DORRIT; Diamond Edition of Dickens. Publishers: Ticknor & Fields, Boston.

ART ITEMS.

Bierstadt's "Domes of the Yo Semite" have been visited by 3,000 people in Boston.

Ball's statue of Edwin Forrest has arrived at Boston, and will be placed on exhibition there without delay.

J. F. Cropsey has gone to pass the Summer at Warwick, Orange County, N. Y.

Jerome Thompson has now upon his easel a large landscape, embodying a composition of New England scenery, with a picturesque old homestead and characteristic figures.

Mr. J. F. Kensett is in town most of his time, engaged on a very large view of Lake George from near Bolton's, Black and Tongue Mountains being prominent in the picture.

Among new pictures lately added by Mr. G. P. Putnam to his Art Gallery, are a pair of landscapes, executed in water-colors by F. Rondel. In these the artist has succeeded in obtaining much brilliancy of hues, not unaccompanied, however, by a certain degree of heaviness, owing to the quantity of water-color used. One of the points in which water-color painting may be said to excel that executed in oils, is the superior transparency which can be obtained by means of successive washes, through each of which the skilful manipulator lets the light, as it were, into the picture. Where much opaque color is used, this charming effect is, of course, lost.

Hamilton's large subject from Tegner's "Drapa," which was in this year's Academy exhibition, is also to be seen in the Putnam Gallery. The painter seems to have studied Turner, some of whose peculiar effects are recalled by this picture.

MISCELLANEOUS.

M. VICTORIEN SARDOU has lately finished a new play entitled "La Femme du Monde."

THE National Academy of Science commenced its public sessions at Hartford yesterday.

THE coolie ship which recently landed a cargo in Louisiana has been libelled, and her captain held in $1,000 to answer for a violation of the law.

ADOLPH STRODTMAN, the German poet and translator, is at work upon a biography of Heine, which will contain much new material, he having had access to a large collection of Heine's letters and unpublished papers.

M. VICTOR HUGO is said to be at work upon two dramas, "Torquemada" and La Grandmere," and to be rewriting a third, "Les Deux Jumeaux," which was offered by him to the Comedie Francaise twenty-five years ago, but afterwards withdrawn.

DR. WATTENBACH has done a good work for the student of early German history by the publication of a volume on "The Sources of the Mediæval History of Germany," which is full of information respecting its chronicles and histories, local and general, from the earliest mediæval period to the thirteenth century.

THE proposed "International Peace Congress" is to meet at Geneva on the 5th September, and will, it is said, be attended by MM. Victor Hugo, Louis Blanc, and Eugene Pelletan. Several other well-known names are also mentioned in connection with the scheme, including those of John Stuart Mill and Garibaldi. Meanwhile, a rival association with the same objects, calling itself the "International Peace League," has been formed in Paris, and has announced its readiness to enrol all friends of peace among its members, without distinction of race, color, religion or sex.

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EQUAL RIGHTS REPORT.—The Proceedings of the First Anniversary of the American Equal Rights Association (a neat pamphlet of eighty pages) may now be had of SUSAN B. ANTHONY, 37 Park Row (Room 17), New York. Price 25 cents.

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A FALSE STEP.

BY MRS. E. B. BROWNING.

Sweet, thou hast trod on a heart—
Pass! there's a world full of men,
And women as fair as thou art,
Must do such a thing now and then.

Thou hast only stepped unaware,
Malice not one can impute;
And why should a heart have been there,
In the way of a fair woman's foot?

It was not a stone that could trip,
Nor was it a thorn that could rend;
Put up thy proud under lip!
'Twas merely the heart of a friend.

And yet, peradventure, one day,
When sitting alone at the glass,
Remarking the bloom gone away,
Where the smile in its dimplement was,

And seeking around thee in vain
From hundreds who flattered before,
Such a word as "Oh, not in the main
Do I hold thee less precious, but more!"

Thou'lt sigh, very like on thy part:
"Of all I have known or can know,
I wish I had only that heart
I trod upon ages ago!"

NOTES FROM ABROAD.

NO. X.

DEFERRED LETTER.

PARIS, June 17th, 1867.

To the Editor of the Standard:

As a supplement to my last letter, and without speaking at all of the Exhibition, let me endeavor to give you a hasty sketch of what has been going on in Paris for the last ten weeks.

On the 1st of June the Emperor of Russia arrived here, accompanied by his two sons, Prince Gortschakoff and other dignitaries of the Russian Empire. He was received with great pomp and ceremony, the Emperor Napoleon going personally to the railway station to meet him. Besides the Emperor, all the highest officials of France were gathered together at the station. When the Imperial train entered the depot, the bands in attendance struck up the Russian National Hymn, and the cars coming to a stand-still, the party alighted, and amidst the music and the cheers of the crowd, made their way to the carriages in waiting. The meeting between the two sovereigns was most cordial and remarkable, the Czar extending both hands to the Emperor Napoleon, as is the Russian custom. Troops were drawn up all along the route from the railway to the Tuileries, public and private buildings were all beautifully decorated with French and Russian flags, thousands of spectators thronged the streets and crowded together in balconies and at windows, and the Russian sovereign must certainly have been gratified with the warmth of his reception in Paris. The Imperial cortege was escorted by a detachment of Lancers and another of the Cent Gardes, the private body guard of the Emperor, and these with their showy uniforms and magnificent horses, added much to the general appearance of the procession. After being presented to the Empress at the Tuileries, the Czar drove to the Palace of the Elysée, in the Faubourg St. Honoré, which had been allotted to him as his residence. This palace, though small, is one of the prettiest and most elegant in France, and was once the favorite abode of the first Napoleon. Since his time, it has been inhabited by many members of royalty, and was the official residence of the present Emperor, when President of the Republic. The Czar adds one more to the number of its illustrious occupants.

On Wednesday, the 5th, the King of Prussia and Count de Bismarck arrived in Paris, and were received with exactly the same ceremony, the Emperor going as before to the station to meet them.

What must have been the feelings of these two sovereigns, who, hardly a month ago, expected at this time to be engaged in deadly conflict with each other, but who now—thanks to Providence—are shaking hands together and meeting, not on the field of battle, but in the gay capital of Paris, under the shadow of the Great Exhibition, which France means shall be the symbol of peace on earth and good will to men. I wonder what they thought of. And yet more, when Bismarck and Napoleon shook hands. It certainly was an amusing sight. The cunning Prussian, who, two years ago, actually deceived the wily Emperor of the French and kept him neutral in the late German war, on the faith of promises never fulfilled, now comes to France to accept the hospitality of a people whom he has never ceased to revile and hold up to contempt. Such are the wonderful sights with which our eyes are greeted in Paris.

The King of Prussia was the guest of the Emperor at the Tuileries, the pavillion Marsan being assigned to his use. Bismarck was entertained at the Prussian Embassy. The next day, Thursday, the 6th, a grand review was held at Longchamp in the Bois, in honor of the sovereigns. The knowledge that it would probably be the finest thing of the kind ever held in Paris, both on account of the number of crowned heads and other distinguished personages who were to be present, and also by reason of the large number of troops to take part, drew together the largest number of spectators that has ever before been collected in the Bois de Bologne. From an early hour of the morning every avenue and road leading to the Bois was blocked with masses of carriages, soldiers and pedestrians, and it was not until some time after the review that easy circulation was possible along these roads.

Workmen left their labor, shopmen had a holiday, the government schools, by gracious permission of the Empress, to whom petitions had been sent, were all dismissed, and, in short, all classes of people gave themselves up to the review and went to it accordingly. Little did any one think of the startling event which happened at its close. But I anticipate.

The review was appointed for 2 p.m., and exactly at that time the troops, consisting of infantry, cavalry and artillery, were all in position; and the Emperor Napoleon, having on his right the Emperor Alexander of Russia, and on his left the King Frederick William of Prussia, rode down the lines, followed by a brilliant staff, including Bismarck, the two sons of the Russian Emperor, the Marshals of France, ect., etc. The staff also included a large number of officers of all nations, and in every imaginable species of uniform, comprising Russian, Prussian, and Austrian Generals, Cossacks, Hulons and even Arabs; nor was the British scarlet missing, and the whole formed a dazzling mass of color impossible to describe, and the only thing approaching to a simile would be a kaleidoscope in rapid motion. 60,000 troops were on the field, including all the regiments of the Imperial Guard, the regiments of the line in garrison in Paris, at Versailles, Vincennes and other neighboring towns and cities. And the crowds of spectators—how shall I describe them? The papers next day said that there were a million. This statement may be an exaggeration; but I have never seen such a number of human beings in one mass before. Not only was every approach to the Longchamp closely packed, but *every tree in the vicinity* was filled with young men and workmen. The blue and white blouses of the latter, in contrast with the foliage, produced a very curious effect, and their movements made the trees appear like animate objects. The music of the bands, the cheers of the soldiers and the enthusiasm of everybody in general completed a scene which will never be equalled again in the Bois de Bologne. The ride down the lines occupied three-quarters of an hour, after which the troops defiled before the sovereigns, who meanwhile had stationed themselves near the grand pavillion, facing the seats occupied by the Empress and other members of the Imperial family, including the little Prince, who is not yet sufficiently strong to mount his horse. The infantry passed at quick march and the cavalry and artillery at a trot, the time consumed being one hour and a half. The cavalry afterwards wheeled about, facing the pavillion, and executed a grand charge, which ended the review. Taken as a whole, the spectacle was a most magnificent one, and cannot be soon forgotten by those who were so fortunate as to witness it.

The review being over, the Empress and the King of Prussia entered a carriage and started towards Paris. The Emperor of Russia, Napoleon, and the two sons of the former, having dismounted, followed in another carriage. When near the "Cascade" of the Bois, as the carriage was slowly going up a slight ascent, a man suddenly rushed from the crowd assembled to see the party go by, and fired a pistol directly at the head of the Emperor of Russia. An aide-de-camp seeing the man advance, and thinking he was about to present a petition, which is strictly forbidden in the streets, spurred his horse forward to intercept him, and thus undoubtedly saved the lives of the Emperors, for the ball struck the aide's horse near the nose, pierced it, passed between the two Emperors, and finally wounded a lady in the crowd. The missile, had it not been thus happily turned from its course, would, however, probably have struck Louis Napoleon and the Czar, since the man was standing on the side of the carriage where the French Emperor was sitting.

It seems that when the carriage approached the "Cascade," instead of going to the left, which is the usual route, the Emperor, seeing the crowd, directed the postillions to take to the right, and the assassin, who had taken his stand on the road to the left, was obliged hastily to change sides and run to the road at the right. He thus was nearest to Napoleon, and fired across him. The blood from the wounded horse, who plunged and reared furiously, was sprinkled over the uniforms of Napoleon and one of the Russian princes who sat opposite, from which his father thought at first that he was wounded. The two sovereigns were perfectly calm, and the Emperor, turning to the Czar, said, "Sire, we have been under fire together;" to which Alexander replied, "Our destinies are in the hands of Providence." The Emperor Napoleon then rose in the carriage and said to the crowd, "Gentlemen, nobody has been touched," and giving directions to proceed, he resumed his seat, and the carriage continued on its way to Paris.

People who were waiting on the Champs Elysees to see the party return were astonished to see the carriage dash along the avenue at a fearful rate of speed, preceded and followed by a detachment of dragoons. But when the news of the attempt on the Czar's life was made public, this circumstance was explained.

The would-be assassin is a Pole named Berezowski, and he came all the way from Belgium to Paris to kill the Russian Emperor. The crowd rushed at him to tear him in pieces, and cries were raised of "Lynch him!" but the police finally rescued him in a fainting condition, and conveyed him to Paris, where he is lodged in the Conciergerie. The pistol, which was a double-barrelled one, burst in his hands, and two of his fingers were badly shattered. He is a young man of hardly twenty years of age, and says he fought for Poland at sixteen.

Banished from that country, he has since that time been a workman, first in Paris, and then in Belgium, since, although belonging to the inferior nobility of Poland, he had no fortune whatever. He expresses the utmost regret that he did not accomplish his murderous design, but says he had no intentions against Napoleon III., whom he declares has always been the friend of his oppressed country. The Chief of Police instantly had the walls of the city and other prominent places placarded with notices informing the citizens of the affair, and as the news spread the greatest excitement prevailed.

The next morning a large number of persons of all ranks went to the Palace of the Elysee to inscribe their names, as a token of sympathy and respect, and a deputation of English clergymen, now in Paris, also went to the same place to present an address of congratulation to the Czar on his escape from a violent death. His Majesty seemed much moved by these various fokens of respect, and to the clergymen he made a very grateful response.

On the evening of Friday, 7th, the city was illuminated in honor of the escape of the two monarchs, and the Czar of Russia became the most popular man in Paris. As for the Emperor of the French, who was really the one in most danger, this attempt has aroused all the love of the French nation for their sovereign. Over three thousand addresses of sympathy and congratulation have been received at the Tuileries from the different communes, towns, districts and provinces of France, and still they come.

On the afternoon following the attempt, the Emperor Napoleon, evidently to test the feeling of the people, arrived suddenly at the Grand Exhibition unaccompanied except by a single gentleman. He had hardly alighted from his carriage when he was recognized, and the cry of "Vive l'Empereur!" rose upon the air. The cry was taken up and heard within the building, and in less time than I take to write it thousands of people were gathered about their sovereign, while the air was filled with the deafening cheers and shouts of the populace. It was with the greatest difficulty that the police could clear a space sufficiently wide to allow the Emperor to make his way into the building. Inside the news had spread, and the rushing of the visitors from all the circles to the door where his Majesty was entering resembled the sound of thunder. If the police had had tough work to clear a way to the entrance, it was harder inside.

I happened to be at the Exhibition, and was fortunate enough to witness this scene. No description could have equalled the reality. The people seemed wild with delight, and *it was the first time that I have ever heard the French cheer.* It was like the roar of a mighty river, increasing and intensifying as the Emperor proceeded through the building. He only walked down one of the rues which cut the circles, and up another, and so out to his carriage again; but even that, which an ordinary walker would accomplish in three minutes, took fifteen; so you can imagine how his progress must have been obstructed.

The Emperor seemed greatly agitated; in fact, I have never seen him when he was not calmer and more collected. His reception was not merely cordial, it was overwhelming. Really, it is not such a bad thing to be shot at—that is, if you are not hit. I should think that the two emperors would be of that opinion.

On Sunday, 9th, the Emperor invited the sovereigns to Versailles, to visit the palace and museum and see the fountains play. After examining the palace, the party drove to each fountain in detail, which commenced to play at the moment that the carriages arrived in front of it and stopped when they left. After dining at the palace of the Grand Frianon in the park, the party returned to Paris. Large crowds were present from the city, although all notice of the excursion had been carefully withheld, in order to avoid a crowd.

Finally, on Tuesday, 11th, the Czar and his sons took their departure, going by way of Fontainbleau, where they passed the day, visiting the palace and beautiful park and forest. It is said that before his departure he requested that the life of Berezowski, the assassin, might be spared. On the aide-de-camp, M. Raimbaud, whose horse so timely interfered, he conferred the highest Russian order, that of St. Andrew, and to his wife he gave most beautiful presents. To the lady who was wounded by the shot, and who is the wife of the mayor of one of the country cities, he has, since his return to Russia, sent a most costly present of an emerald heart set in diamonds, as a delicate souvenir of the memorable attempt of the 6th of June.

The King of Prussia and Bismarck left Paris the next Thursday, 13th, and so ended our fortnight of Imperialism and Royalty combined. With the exception of the attempted assassination of the Czar, nothing occurred to mar the happiness and enjoyment of the past gala days. They will long be remembered by all who were fortunate enough to participate in their pleasures or view the gorgeous pageants connected with them, and France is only more and more convinced of her ancient saying, that "Paris is the world and the Parisians are all mankind."

The city is still thronged with crowds of little German princes, dukes, etc., but in the superior attractions of kings and emperors, such small fry are entirely lost sight of. The authorities of all ranks are now taking a little rest, preparatory to the reception of other great personages soon to arrive. The Viceroy of Egypt comes to-day, but as he is not of any particular consequence, his arrival will not occasion any excitement either to the Emperor or Baron Haussman.

But in a week or two the Sultan of Turkey is to invade Paris, with a pomp and display which he evidently thinks will strike awe into the Parisians. His old body guard, which had been disbanded, are to be revived for the occasion, and with their rich uniforms and Arabian steeds will be a new sight for Paris. Besides these, the Sultan brings all the chief officers of his Empire, and also, it is said, several of his wives. These latter will all be in the procession which will attend him on his entry into the city.

It is the first time that a Turkish monarch has ever travelled beyond his own dominions, and therefore, by those interested, the event is looked upon as something extraordinary. In accordance with an old Mussulman law, wherever the Sultan sets his foot the soil instantly becomes Turkish territory.

As France does not nor cannot belong to the Turks, it was necessary to settle this difficulty before the Sultan started on his travels.

Therefore, by an amazing stretch of even an Oriental imagination, France is to be considered Turkish property so long as the Sultan is pleased to abide in it, and upon his departure it is to revert to its former proprietor, Napoleon III. Thus has the chief astrologer of the Sultan declared, and thus, of course, it must be. Queen Victoria has invited the Turkish Ruler to visit her in England, and that country following the same law, becomes for a time a Turkish province. A government which nourishes such follies as these cannot last long, and therefore the Sultan had better see all he can while on his tour, for the Ottoman Empire, like all other of the great stumbling-blocks in the path of progress and civilization, is slowly crumbling away.

The next month also brings us the Queen of Spain, the King of Holland, the King of Sweden, the King and Queen of Portugal, the Emperor and Empress of Austria, the King of Italy, Queen Victoria (incognito), the Prince of Wales (again), and the remainder of the brood of petty German rulers.

Surely the Universal Exhibition is a mighty magnet, whose power nobody can resist, and which draws towards it every potentate and every people of the world.

I can think of no better way to close this letter than by sending you the following witty extract from a Paris paper, called *Le Figaro.*

After speaking of the Springtime, etc., it says: "Upon the earth we are having settled weather. Kings are running from every side to visit our international cauldron. What we are pleased to call peace, reigns everywhere. And when the statesman turns his uneasy eyes about the universe, he perceives only sovereigns packing their trunks. Now when sovereigns pack their trunks, it is the same as when the toy barometrical monks take off their hoods; it signifies that all is calm in nature. Turn yourself successively towards the four cardinal points; the King of Portugal is finishing his travelling arrangements; the King of Prussia is about to enter the cars; the Czar of all the Russias is registering his baggage. From the political horizon nothing is seen to shoot forth but carpet bags."

E. Q. P.

WAIFS FROM THE POETS.

"And now
Empurpled seas began to blush and bloom,
Doves make sweet moaning, and the guelder rose
In a great stillness dropped, and ever dropped,
Her wealth about her feet, and there it lay,
And drifted not at all. The lilac spread
Odorous essence round her; and full oft,
When Muriel felt the warmth her pulses cheer,
She, faded, sat among the Maytide bloom,
And with a reverent quiet in her soul,
Took back—it was His will—her time and sat
Learning again to live."
—*Jean Ingelow.*

"Song sinks into silence,
The story is told,
The windows are darkened,
The hearth-stone is cold.
Darker and darker
The black shadows fall;
Sleep and oblivion
Reign over all."
—*Longfellow.*

"Sorrow must crop each passion-shoot,
And pain, each lust infernal,
Or human life can bear no fruit
To life eternal.

For angels wait on Providence,
And mark the sundered places,
To graft with gentlest instruments,
The heavenly graces."
—*Dr. Holland.*

"Who can mistake great thoughts?
They seize upon the mind—arrest, and search,
And shake it—bow the tall soul as by wind—
Rush over it like rivers over reeds,
Which quaver in the current—turn us cold,
And pale, and voiceless; leaving in the brain
A rocking and a ringing—glorious
But momentary, madness might it last,
And close the soul with Heaven as with a seal."
—*Philip James Bailey.*

MR. EMERSON AT CAMBRIDGE.

The following from the Boston *Commonwealth*, in reference to Mr. Emerson's address at Cambridge, which we published in The Standard of last week, a correspondent deems worthy of insertion:

The annual ceremonies attending the close of the college course at Cambridge, called *Commencement* with singular unfitness, have this year been marked by two unusual events. On the 17th of July Mr. R. W. Emerson was chosen one of the overseers of Harvard College, receiving more votes than any of the candidates for the five vacancies, and on the 18th he delivered an address before the *Phi Beta Kappa* society. These may seem trifles to some of our readers—for have not overseers been chosen also in each of the two hundred and fifty other colleges of the United States, and have not addresses been uttered by the thousand? Nevertheless, we speak of an event worth noticing, for it indicates a revolution in thought—or, rather, the complete development of the personal influence exerted by a man of genius.

Mr. Emerson received his bachelor's degree at Cambridge in 1821, and a few years later his master's degree in regular course. Without enjoying the special favor of his *alma mater*, he yet had her face turned smiling towards him. But when, in the exercise of a scholar's privilege, which had been added to the prerogative of genius, he began to question the validity of popular beliefs, and to lay anew the foundations of opinion, she grew cold and frowning. From 1830 to 1838 she tolerated, though with scarcely disguised contempt, his essays on philosophy and literature; but, after the famous Divinity School Address of 1838, she cast him out altogether. She was clean contrary to all his doings. He was a transcendentalist, at which she laughed—an abolitionist, such as she threw stones at—a theist, atheist, pantheist, or perhaps all three in one, she scarcely knew what, but she detested him. His brethren of the *Phi Beta* had paid him their tribute to his scolarship by inviting him to address them, and he had done so; but it only increased his odium at the college. The *North American Review*, which was then and for a long time a sort of ambulance to pick up the wounded professors of Harvard, drove its jolting cart over his essays and poems, and supposed that oblivion would come along next day and bury them out of sight. In the fierce strife of politics which preceded the victory of Massachusetts over South Carolina, Cambridge sided with Carolina, and echoed with shrill voice the sonorous platitutes of Webster and Everett.

In 1851, Mr. Emerson spoke at a political meeting in Cambridge, denouncing Webster, and maintaining the cause of the North. The undergraduates and law-students went to mob him, with the approval, secret or confessed, of their instructors. But even then the tide had begun to turn, and there was a respectable minority of young men who looked upon the Concord scholar as their leader and teacher. The infection spread. The students first gave in, then the tutors and younger professors, and at last the body of the Alumni and the college government; and now he has just been chosen to a responsible office by a vote almost unanimous, and his most heretical opinions have been heard with applause by the Faculty and Corporation—"*Consill. PP. et TT. adjuv.*"—as the inscription used to run in the old *Deturs*, before modern innovators so bejuggled the college Latin that nobody but a professor or a tutor can read it. The whirligig of time has made a complete turn, and Cambridge has her feet now where her head used to be.

All which is to the credit of the present discernment of Harvard College, but convicts her of stone blindness in the past years; for this admired teacher, whom she applauds, says now what he said then. The imperfect report which we print in another column shows through the disguise of the reporter's rhetoric the manly English of Mr. Emerson's periods; and they have the ring of the old days. There is no compromise, no despair, no timidity. Whatever he may say, and truly, of the complaisance and indifference of American scholars, in times past or present, the charge does not convict himself. He enters his place at the ancient University as our generals now occupy the South—not by sufferance, not by courtesy, but by the right of the strongest—with colors flying and arms displayed. Such is the state of the case, however his own modesty or the good will of the conquered party may generously strive to conceal the apparent fact.

Will the colleges in the country accept the omen? Will they cease to be, what Matthew Arnold calls Oxford, the "home of lost causes and forgotten beliefs," and begin do their part in *leading* the movement of the times? Or will they, as they have too often done, drag awkwardly after the car which they have done their feeble utmost to hinder? This is a question quite as momentous to their future success as that between Greek and German—between science and literature—which is now so much mooted. They can never flourish as the nation flourishes until they are something more than ornamental—something more even than useful; until they make themselves necessary to the vigorous life which pulsates about them.

USE OF OPIUM IN THE UNITED STATES.—Attention has been repeatedly called of late to the monstrously increased consumption of opium in the United States. The *Galaxy* has an elaborate article on the use of opium, in which this increased consumption is particularly noted. In 1840, it seems, 24,000 pounds of opium sufficed us for a population of 17,000,000 souls. This, at $1 25 a pound, cost the country $30,000. In 1850 the importation of opium increased to 87,000 pounds for a population of 23,000,000, which, at the average price of $2 80 a pound, cost us $243,600. In 1860, the importation reached 119,500 pounds, and the price went up to $4 50 a pound, and the total cost to the country advanced to $527,750, while our population advanced only to 31,590,000. Thus it appears that while our population has not doubled, our consumption of opium has increased nearly five fold; that is, instead of 41,000 pounds of opium which would have been the regular ratio for the increase of inhabitants, we imported three times that amount in 1860.

Now, this increased use of opium is not to be accounted for by any increased use of the drugs as a medicine—though this has doubtless been very great, especially in the quack nostrums of the day; but must be attributed to the multiplication of opium eaters in the United States.

A WRITER in the New York *Gazette*, contrasting Spurgeon and Beecher, says: "No man in the world understands his physical system better than Mr. Beecher. He is thoroughly temperate in all respects. His eating, sleeping, exercise, all conform to the laws of health. He has reached a half century with a sound constitution in a healthy body, and has twenty-five years good service in him yet. Spurgeon is a young man. His flash appearance and the gout that has already overtaken him show that physical laws must be obeyed as well as moral. Mr. Beecher lives plainly, is simple in his dress and in his habits, and if met in the street would sooner be taken for an express man in a hurry for the cars than a minister. Spurgeon dresses in pure English clerical style, is a free liver, dispenses an elegant hospitality, keeps his coach and coachman, lives in a fine mansion, and boasts as good a turn-out as the Archbishop of Canterbury.

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